The Precarious Non-Poor in Post-Apartheid South Africa:
Striving for Prosperity in Cape Town and Newcastle

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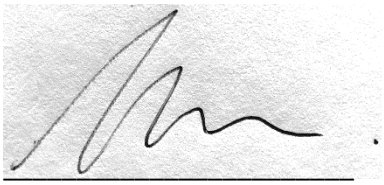

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ABSTRACT

It is widely acknowledged that poverty has declined globally over the last few years. In fact, this idea has become so ingrained in our society that it is almost taken for granted and assumed as an incontestable fact. The question that remains unanswered is where all the poor are now. Are they living a prosperous life or are they tinkering on the edge of poverty? This research study focuses on the precarious non-poor, who are the people surviving just above Upper Bound Poverty Line used by Statistics within South Africa. Although they are not 'officially poor' they are still a group that is often overlooked or ignored within the global development community since they are not poor enough to warrant intervention yet not secure enough to demand action. As the research study will show through using a mixed-method approach, they are far from being prosperous and in fact, still struggling to survive. The quantitative findings are based on a statistical analysis of the General Household Survey (2011) that overlaps with the latest Income and Expenditure Survey (2011). It gives valuable background to the problem that was also used during the qualitative phase of the research study to inform the sample choice and interview guide. The quantitative analysis shows that the precarious non-poor is not a unique problem, and as a group, they are found across South Africa. The qualitative findings are based on in-depth interviews conducted in Cape Town, Western Cape and Newcastle, KwaZulu Natal. Framed by the capability approach, set out by Amartya Sen, and a focus on basic capabilities such as employment, education and housing, the results show that the precarious non-poor lack access and choice in terms of capabilities and the opportunity to realise them into functionings. The precarious non-poor in this study are mostly employed within insecure, uncertain or underpaying jobs, underpinned by a social support program, living in neighbourhoods where they feel unsafe while trying to secure a better future for themselves and especially their children. In fact, they are probably no better off than their poor counterparts with prosperity remaining out of reach.

KEY TERMS

Precarious non-poor, poverty, precarity, precarious prosperity, capability approach, Amartya Sen, basic capabilities, capabilities, functionings, mixed-method, Cape Town, Newcastle, South Africa

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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CS	Community Survey
CSG	Child Support Grant
DTS	Domestic Tourism Survey
EAs	Enumeration Areas
FPL	Food Poverty Line
G7	Group of Seven including Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States
GHS	General Household Survey
HDI	Human Development Index
IES	Income and Expenditure Survey
IDP	Integrated Developmental Plan
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LBPL	Lower Bound Poverty Line
LCS	Living Conditions Survey
PNP	Precariously Non-Poor
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
MDGs	Millennium Developmental Goals
MS	Master Sample
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
QLFS	Quarterly Labour Force Survey
RPPS	Randomised Probability Proportional to Size
SNP	Secure Non-Poor
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SDGs	Sustainable Developmental Goals
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
UBPL	Upper Bound Poverty Line
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
UNISA	University of South Africa
WSSD	World Summit on Social Development

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The poor and the non-poor

It is widely acknowledged that poverty has declined globally over the last few years. In fact, this idea has become so ingrained in our society that it is almost taken for granted and assumed as an incontestable fact. In fact, "[t]he reiteration of this conventional wisdom has even achieved the status of a platitude, a perfunctory preamble that must preface every speech about the state of the world in multilateral fora" (Fischer, 2018:1). However, what does this really mean? Is this really true in relation to the poor? Who are the poor? What measures were used to determine this? Who decides who are the poor and the non-poor? And what does it mean to be poor or then non-poor?

Over the last few years, the developmental agenda has globally focused on the alleviation of poverty and the eradication of extreme poverty. Most influential, not only in terms of the apparent effect on extreme poverty but also in terms of shaping the narrative around poverty and poverty alleviation, has been the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs were put forth after the United Nations Millennium Declaration in September 2000 where all 191 United Nations (UN) member states and 22 international organisations committed to achieving the goals. The MDGs reached their deadline in 2015, which incidentally coincided with the start of this research project. Officially, the first goal (MDG 1) of lowering extreme poverty rates for persons living under $1.25 a day by half was already achieved before the 2015 target. Statistically, the number of people living in extreme poverty has also fallen from an estimated 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015 (United Nations, 2015a). This is a huge achievement and halving extreme poverty should be celebrated. It has been lauded as a developmental triumph so much so that the MDGs have been replaced by the Sustainable Developmental Goals (SDGs).

Overall the results related to the MDGs and specifically goal 1 seems to indicate that the extremely poor are now better off. Also, this improvement, which is measured in terms of income, is due to the focus of the MDGs and the resultant development. However, many of the wealthy and developed countries that were part of the UN global developmental mission

were already fulfilling the MDGs even before they were implemented and that led to skewing the results and higher statistics (Rosenbaum, 2015). Just before 2015, the World Bank's World Development Reports highlighted that in the most poor and unstable countries, the MDG achievement is still at its lowest, especially in terms of goal 1. As Rosenbaum (2015) notes, this is not necessarily because of poverty, but also due to other problems that co-occur or even cause poverty that are not addressed. Although pro-poor development, such as championed through the MDGs, is seen as instrumental in reducing poverty rates (Ravallion & Chen, 2007 and Grosse, Harttgen & Klasen, 2008) it cannot be said for certain that the developmental focus led to the measured success. Furthermore, it remains open for debate whether the improvement in terms of income poverty can specifically be attributed to the MDGs or whether it would have happened anyway due to broader macroeconomic factors (Fischer, 2018). Sok (2017) makes a similar point and highlights the relationship between poverty, development and inequality. Initial gains in income from someone moving from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector due to economic development would not necessarily address issues of inequality or provide sustainable livelihoods, for example. "The relationship between growth and poverty is complex and depends, to a large extent, upon the relationship between growth and inequality" (Sok, 2017:1).

The most significant effect that the MDGs had is in terms of how we define and measure poverty. Although using targets and goals are not a new way to talk about development or poverty, the MDGs and the related dialogue has become somewhat standard practice (Anstee, 2012). "Most contemporary work on the subject of global poverty defers – whether with fidelity or reluctance – to the authority of the World Bank production of global poverty statistics"(Fischer, 2018). Much like the assumption that poverty is declining globally is ingrained in our social consciousness, so too are the ideas and concepts associated with poverty, in terms of the MDGs and now the SDGs, taken for granted.

The targets and outcomes of the MDGs and now the SDGs are based and measured according to the World Bank's latest global statistics, and in terms of poverty, this usually refers to applying the most recent purchasing power parity (PPP) poverty line to the latest available survey data. The result is that poverty is understood as the poor and the non-poor with a poverty line separating the two categories. There seems to be no category in between or no

movement between being poor and non-poor. This misrepresents how people actually live where the reality is often that the experience of poverty is more of a constant teetering on the edge of being poor or not. Also, a focus on a poverty line and a per-person-per-day cut-off misses out on the fact that people mostly live and function in a household unit and not as individuals. Income and how it is related to the standard basket of goods misses that different people have different needs and wants. Even in the instances where abstract concepts like health or education are aggregated in terms of income as well as consumption proxies, it is still difficult to know whether there is real improvement or deterioration (Fischer, 2018). For example, being able to go to school is not the same as receiving a quality education and in terms of trying to address issues that might cause poverty such as inequality such a distinction becomes very important.

Unfortunately, the poor often have very little say in how they are measured, and even if they do, it is analysed and understood through an already prepared poverty lens. The next important question then is, who is deciding what it means to be poor and why.

> The aim is to strip back the increasingly sophisticated technicality of poverty studies in order to demystify the fundamental political and normative choices that are implied by various methods and measures, and how the resulting political constructs obscure or reveal the changing nature of social needs within the evolution of capitalist development. In this manner, we can examine how the ways we conceive and measure poverty instil propensities towards ideologically formed views of poverty, anti-poverty policies and broader social and development policies. (Fischer, 2018:6)

Thus, poverty and poverty studies are inherently political or in the very least underwritten by political and economic ideologies. It is no coincidence that recent poverty measures keep the current status quo intact with regards to how money is spent on poverty alleviation (or then development), where it is spent and on whom while all the while not really addressing some of the driving factors that could eradicate poverty (and not only extreme poverty) such as for example inequality or our increasing capitalist society that favours money over people.

Let us put aside the critique based on the normative and economic reasons why current poverty measures are being favoured and assume that the findings and results are objectively true. Firstly, where have all the poor people gone? Or then in the very least, where have all the extremely poor people gone?

The answer that everyone most certainly would want is that the poor have moved out and beyond poverty to join the middle class in their respective countries. However, how we define what not being poor is, is closely related to what being poor is. This is especially true for the growing African[1] middle class who, according to UNHabitat (2014), survive on between $2 and $20 per day. Thus, there remains a large group of people surviving on much less than the $20 per day upper-bound cut-off. UNHabitat (2014:20) projects that the emerging African middle class will grow "from 355 million to 1.1 billion by 2060", thus constituting "more than 50 per cent of households". Moreover, the vast majority of Africa's middle class (up to 60%) survive on $2 to $4 per day. Developed countries and their respective poverty lines are still linked to poverty in terms of this. "Most of the 649 million fewer poor by the $1.25 per day standard over 1981-2008 are still poor by the standard of middle-income countries, and certainly by the standard of what poverty means in rich countries" (Ravallion & Chen 2010:3). Even though extreme poverty might be declining, poverty is still on the increase, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. "The number of Africans (excluding North Africans) living below the poverty line rose from 290 million in 1990 to 376 million both in 1999 and 414 million in 2010 respectively" (United Nations 2014:12). Thus, people may not be extremely poor anymore, but still poor or barely middle class (depending on the context).

Even if the extremely poor are now poor, the argument can be made that at least they are better off, especially taking into account that poverty alleviation and development usually go hand in hand. This is a tricky claim to make, first because this is not what the poverty measures set out to measure and secondly it is not possible for income to stand in to measure such abstract notions. "Whether or not this has made them better off – materially, humanly,

[1] Here African refers to persons living on the African continent although I do acknowledge that the term African in many instances is also used in reference to race such as later on in the thesis. It should also be noted that I am not under the assumption that there is a heterogeneity within African populations across the African continent, but this is rather a summary shorthand used within the literature presented.

ecologically, spiritually or in terms of security, quality of life or happiness – is a different question" (Fischer, 2018).

Adams (2002:89) notes that "[t]he idea of poverty has been obfuscated such that we can't agree what it means any more or how to measure it or who is responsible for tackling it". Where does this leave us in terms of poverty and our understanding of the experience of poverty? Firstly, there must be a shift from a binary focus of poor and non-poor. Secondly, our understanding of poverty, and thus how to help people move beyond poverty, should expand to beyond an income only approach.

1.1.2 The precarious non-poor

The focus within the MDGs and now with the SDGs is on extreme poverty, with the next logical emphasis shifting to poverty. Although there has been some suggestion within the UN and World Bank rhetoric around poverty that there is more to poverty than just the poor and the non-poor, it is often mentioned in passing or buried in official documents. Like the mention of the vulnerable or a "floating class" that survives just above the upper bound $2 per day level of poverty. This category is a "fragile, yet emerging phenomenon that requires significant developmental support" (UNHabitat 2014:20). Still, this is as far as the research goes and beyond this, the category is ignored and written off because it is a new phenomenon or not prioritised since the focus is or should be on extreme poverty. For the purposes of this thesis, this category will be referred to as the precarious non-poor.

The precarious non-poor are the people surviving just above the poverty line, not only in South Africa but also globally. Income-wise, they fall outside of poverty, but in terms of most other criteria, they still seem to be struggling. Budowski et al. (2010) conceptualise a similar group of people who are not poor, yet not sure of a stable social and economic future. They define this dynamic class position as "precarious prosperity", which is closely linked to the notion of the precarious non-poor used throughout this thesis. Empirically this category has gained some interest and traction in the fields of social mobility, the working poor, social vulnerability, the missing middle and hidden poverty (Budowski et al., 2010). Overall though, research fails to account for the people just above the poverty line. According to Budowski et

al. (2010), this is a “socio-structural category largely overlooked in social inequality research so far: the dynamic positions of households adjacent to those of the poor and yet not representing those of the established, more prosperous positions in society” (2010:269).

Considering the research around poverty and especially within South Africa, this research will be exploratory because historically and quite justifiably so, the focus has been on the poor and struggling. As Bhorat & Kanbur (2005) state, “[a]longside the political evaluation and praise... there has been a vigorous local research programme aimed broadly at measuring the changes in well-being that occurred in this ... period” in post-apartheid South Africa. (2005:1). Still, the legacy of political segregation and the distribution of goods and services along these segregated lines has meant that poverty in South Africa remains skewed along racial lines. According to Woolard (2002), “[w]hile poverty is not confined to any one racial group in South Africa, it is concentrated among blacks” (2002:2). Therefore, it has been necessary and, in most cases, also a moral obligation that poverty interventions take priority to ensure those people most in need are identified and targeted not only to alleviate extreme poverty but also to account for the injustices of the past. In fact, Hargreaves et al. (2007) highlight the importance of poverty research since “poverty appraisal is essential for targeting, prioritizing, and planning poverty reduction measures, as well as for monitoring the impact of these measures over time” (2007:2013).

A poverty focus is still necessary and justified globally and especially within South Africa at least until all poverty is eradicated. Furthermore, the intended result of poverty measures and interventions are to ultimately improve people’s wellbeing and overall quality of life. Yet, it seems that people do not move onto prosperity from poverty. Rather, they are less poor or move to just beyond a preconceived poverty line. Therefore, it is important that we start to focus on what lies beyond poverty for most people and realise that it is often not prosperity, but precarity. The precarious non-poor and not poor enough to be poor, but also not in any way close to being prosperous. What a focus on the precarious non-poor stresses is that lifting people out of poverty is only a start, but that to ensure a good quality of life, more needs to be done. Ultimately everyone that is successfully lifted out of poverty has to move through precarity to gain prosperity.

1.1.3 The cities and towns

The precarious non-poor will, "especially in drastically unequal urban contexts, [...] require significant efforts to ensure socio-political and economic stability, alongside ensuring growth in investment flows" (UNHabitat 2014:20). Thus, nowhere is this social category found more often than in our cities since urbanisation is fuelled by people searching for prosperity. According to UNHabitat (2014:23) "[the global share of African urban dwellers is projected to rise from 11.3 per cent in 2010 to 20.2 per cent by 2050. That is not surprising since over a quarter of the 100 fastest-growing cities in the world are now in Africa which, by 2011, already hosted 52 cities exceeding one million inhabitants" (2014:23). These numbers have already grown.

This is also true in the South African context where the cities "face substantial challenges, owing largely to the pace of economic growth to date and continued migration from the countryside. Informal settlements are growing, and infrastructure bottlenecks and backlogs are widespread" (National Treasury, 2010:54). Discussions on urbanisation usually include an understanding of the significance of metros (metropolitans). However, a topic that is often neglected is that of smaller urban centres that account for a high percentage of the urban population and, in this case, the precarious non-poor. Indeed, even within South Africa, there is no consensus about what "urban" means and we only have to look at the Census with its ever-changing definition as an example. In fact, in the context of the current study, Cape Town and Newcastle are both considered urban centres, although Cape Town is much bigger and a metro.

According to UNHabitat (2014), "Southern Africa, the most urbanized region in sub-Saharan Africa, is projected to reach an overall region-wide urban majority around the end of the current decade" (2014:13). Africa's urban transition is happening very quickly, "with the accumulated relative growth rate of its cities now among the highest in the world" (2014:20). This is also echoed by Cobbinah et al. (2015), who state that Africa's urban population is progressively concentrating in cities "often with a million-plus population" (2015:36). Cities are the main centres for employment opportunities and for access to, and generation of, services (financial and commercial). In addition, knowledge is generated among, and transferred to, a growing consumer market. However, cities, especially those in South Africa,

face tremendous challenges, such as “urban sprawl; substantial housing backlogs; poverty and inequality; segregation; slum and informal settlement proliferation within city centres and on the urban peripheries; as well as inadequate infrastructure and service provision” (UNHabitat, 2014). According to Cobbinah et al. (2015), “the economic situation in Africa has been unfair to the poor, particularly those in urban areas” (2015: 67). This also rings true for the precariously non-poor.

In South Africa, smaller urban centres are often unfortunately linked to municipalities that are poorly run. This is in contrast to the metros that seem to receive adequate funding and that are often held more accountable. The Municipal Financial Stability Index published by Ratings Afrika (2018), rates the 100 largest municipalities according to their finances and service delivery. Although Cape Town and the Western Cape score high overall, the same is not true for Newcastle or KwaZulu-Natal in general. Ratings Afrika, which reviews the financial statements submitted to the National Treasury, established that Newcastle was the 4th worst scoring municipality in 2018. Although Cape Town and the Newcastle can be described as functioning municipalities, there is still much room for improvement.

With the promise of a better life, cities and towns have grown in South Africa. However, this rapid urbanisation has also negatively affected urban livelihoods with the severe consequence often being pervasive and permanent urban poverty (2015: 67). What is clear from the literature is that the high levels of urbanisation are most often than not linked to people moving to the cities and the peripheries to find a better and more prosperous life. “A precondition for the prosperity of entire urban populations is the prosperity of their cities, and the prosperity of cities can only be maintained where urban populations ultimately participate in that prosperity” (SACN 2015:8). Therefore, prosperity is a conditional state, and that means that people living in cities will most often find an improved quality of life (even if marginally) but will remain in a precarious position since their prosperity is not ensured.

1.2 Problem statement

This research will try to address the issues around poverty set out thus far by firstly identifying a category of people that are called the precariously non-poor. Secondly, through using

Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, I hope to move beyond an income-centric approach and to show that an increase in income (moving away from poverty in terms of how it understood according to an arbitrary poverty line) does not necessarily lead to overall well-being and that in order to help people attain a better quality of life we have to look beyond money, income or cash and development that are linked to underwritten by a capitalist ideology. Overall, I hope to contribute to a more complex understanding of a vulnerability to poverty in South Africa by trying to transcend the current poor/non-poor discourse by shedding light on this category coined by Budowski et al. (2010) as precarious prosperity—or what I refer to in this study as the precarious non-poor.

This study aims to describe the background to the problem of the precarious non-poor at a national level in South Africa through analysing the GHS (General Household Survey) and IES (Income and Expenditure Survey). Moreover, the study also aims to identify and describe the precarious non-poor living in Cape Town, Western Cape and Newcastle, KwaZulu- Natal. It will, though the analysis of in-depth interviews, share their day-to-day lived experiences while they survive just beyond poverty and strive for prosperity.

The problem of the precarious non-poor will be put into context within South Africa by following a mixed-method research methodology with quantitative and qualitative analysis. In addition, the study will answer questions related to the material and normative dimensions linked to their daily survival. The quantitative analysis also provided valuable background to the problem. In fact, as the study will show, the precarious non-poor are a group that is found across the whole of South Africa. The qualitative analysis of the in-depth interviews conducted in Cape Town, in the Western Cape and Newcastle, in KwaZulu-Natal highlights the lack of access and choice as well as underline the silent suffering of the precarious non-poor. The capability approach set out by Amartya Sen and a focus on basic capabilities, such as employment, education and housing, show that the precarious non-poor are lacking in access and choice in terms of capabilities and the opportunity to realise them into functionings. Furthermore, through focusing on security, I will show that they are closer to poverty than to prosperity.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study will identify and describe the precarious non-poor as well as what their day to day lived experiences are while trying to strive for prosperity while living in Newcastle and Cape Town.

Related to this general objective are some more selective objectives, namely:

- To identify who the precarious non-poor are at a national and provincial level in South Africa through analysing the most recent Income and Expenditure and Living Conditions Survey data sets (available through StatsSA).
- To describe and learn more about the everyday lived experience of being precariously non-poor through in-depth interviews with selected respondents
- To inform social policy and interventions linked to poverty reduction to better address people who are vulnerable to poverty.

1.4 Research Questions

Related to the research objectives mentioned above are the research questions that will guide the study which include:

- Who are the precarious non-poor?
    - In terms of race, gender, employment, location etc.
- What are the dependent variables related to being the precarious non-poor?
- How big is the population of the "precarious non-poor" in South Africa (Using different poverty lines as cut-offs)?
- What is the relationship between the precarious non-poor and the cities and towns that they live in?
- What are the socio-economic characteristics of the precarious non-poor living in South Africa?
- How do they define themselves (economically and socially)?
- What strategies do these individuals employ to survive/live from day to day?
- What do they define as a prosperous life?
- What strategies do they employ to ensure they do not slip into or back into poverty?
- How do they see their future?

- How robust is the South African social policy architecture in ensuring that they do not slip into poverty or return to poverty?

1.5 Value of research

So far, I have outlined the problem of this thesis and some of the underlying theory and thinking that will be used throughout. What still needs to be set out is the value of the research. The following question needs to be asked: why is a focus on the precarious non-poor warranted?

It is justifiable to focus on poverty and the development of the poor, which should be our main concern. However, research should also emphasise the poor that have been uplifted out of poverty, which mainly includes the precarious non-poor. Therefore, this research is important since it tries to look beyond only alleviating poverty. The focus is to move people out and beyond poverty to prosperity permanently. Our current focus, associated interventions and developmental focus seem to move people out of poverty, although barely. The consequence is that people remain vulnerable to poverty or in constant flux in and out of poverty.

Secondly, a key concern that unfortunately remains, in relation to the work done around poverty, is whether an individual who has been moved beyond the poverty threshold is indeed non-poor. Especially if f they are lacking in terms of the same basic capabilities as their poor counterpart. This research aims to move beyond the current binary of the poor and the non-poor by focusing on a previously ignored group of people. I will show that a focus on the precarious non-poor not only addresses these two issues but also sheds light on how poverty and those just beyond poverty should be addressed in policy.

It is imperative to understand that there are certain structural positions that are often close to poverty, on the one hand, or close to being prosperous, on the other. There is most certainly mobility between these positions just as there is mobility across defined poverty lines. Foster & Alkire (2011) maintain that it is important how we measure a phenomenon, especially poverty, since this influences how we understand, analyse and create policies. The

main purpose of this research will be to contribute to our understanding of the precarious non-poor for whom secured prosperity remains out of reach. In order to ensure that social policy positively affects the lives of people living in South Africa, we need to move beyond the dualistic view of society in terms of the poor and the non-poor, with no one in between. I would argue that this links to what Robeyns (2017:115) refers to when she talks about the "relative invisibility of the fate of those people whose lives do not correspond to that of an able-bodied, non-dependent, caregiving- free individual who belongs to the dominant ethnic, racial and religious groups". Thus, the precarious non-poor are not poor or prosperous enough to matter.

In fact, a focus on the precarious non-poor highlights how limited an income-only approach to poverty is. According to Hick (2012:306), "[t]he ways in which lives may be blighted by poverty and deprivation are many". He adds that a focus on income based on convenience and ease is not enough and argues that we rather need steady foundations to this concept in terms of an understanding of capability deprivations. "…[T]he capability approach can provide such foundations, not only to understand poverty and deprivation – but also to combat them" (Hick 2012:306). The needs and wants of people below and above the poverty line is often the same. Indeed, as Sen set out, there are basic capabilities that one should be able to achieve in order to live a good life. This research study not only gives evidence to support a basic capability approach, but also takes it further. There are notions of quality and a basic minimum that need to be incorporated to make sure that people have the freedom to choose. Moreover, people should all have the same opportunities, and this, I would argue, can only be achieved once there is fair access and choice in terms of the basic capabilities.

In short, firstly, I want to give a voice to the precarious non-poor in order to ensure that they can reach prosperity. Secondly, I want to shift the focus in poverty research away from an economic perspective and back into the realm of sociology where it started. We have to address the reasons behind poverty in order to get rid of poverty and so far, an income approach has only been able to make progress in terms of extreme poverty (and these results are open to less positive interpretations). In order to address the reasons behind poverty, we have to look at the broader socio-economic context and overlapping issues such as inequality

for example. I hope to, through the research, inform social policy and poverty interventions that will permanently move people out and beyond poverty.

1.6 Chapter outline

The next chapter, the literature review (chapter 2), will try to summarise some of the work that relates to our current understanding of poverty. It will focus on poverty cut-offs that are globally and locally found in the literature, as this relates to the definition of the precarious non-poor. It will also refer to other scholars who have studied the phenomenon of precarious prosperity, although there has not been much research within the South African context. In addition, the chapter will elaborate on the concepts within the capability approach that are important in the later chapters of this thesis. The theoretical framework (chapter 3) will follow setting out in more detail how the literature relates to this research study.

The methods chapter (chapter 4) will explain the ideology that underpins the research carried out and the way it relates to the methods used and the findings. It will set out the important aspects of a mixed-methods sequential explanatory design which consists of first collecting and analysing quantitative and then qualitative data in two consecutive phases within the study. It will highlight some of the strengths as well as weaknesses related to this type of study.

The quantitative chapter (chapter 5) will present the quantitative findings from a desktop analysis of the GHS and IES datasets. It will look at income distribution, settlement type, population group, gender, employment status and social grants, which are the overlapping concepts in the two datasets that make a comparison of the findings between the GHS and IES possible. As the discussion of the analysis will show there is a strong overlap between the findings of the two datasets and overall, it seems that the precarious non-poor are mostly insecurely employed, often female, living in urban areas and dependent on the social grant system.

The qualitative section of the thesis will focus on the qualitative findings, and the capability approach will be used as the theoretical framework. The first section (chapter 6) will focus on

the basic capabilities as set out in theory, but more importantly, as expressed by the respondents. Issues related to employment, education, food security and housing were identified by the respondents. These were important in their descriptions of their attempts to achieve a secure future. However, as the discussion will show, the findings revealed that the respondents, the precarious non-poor, were no different to their poor counterparts in terms of the opportunities that they had and choices they could make.

The next section of the qualitative section (chapter 7) will explore some of the consequences that the precarious non-poor face. In other words, how does living a precariously no-non poor life affect people? It will also show that they are closer to poverty than to prosperity by focusing on security. The chapter also takes into account the role that the state has to play in the lives of people. The precarious non-poor constantly live in fear, especially of losing the little security that they have as well as a physical fear of violence and crime because of their vulnerable social position. However, the most violent consequence that they deal with is less overt and embedded in our society.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss some important research in the fields of poverty and inequality definitions and measures. I start off by discussing some of the earliest research studies related to poverty – the work of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, which were conducted in the UK at the end of the nineteenth century. I then discuss the development of Peter Townsend's 'relative deprivation' approach to conceptualising poverty, which still today provides the underlying framework for poverty analysis in the UK and Europe. Next, I focus on four poverty approaches, namely the monetary approach, multidimensional approach, social exclusion approach and the capability approach. Although there is some overlap between the different approaches since, they are informed by each other or conceived as contradictory measures; there are also strong critiques that can be highlighted especially in terms of the precariously non-poor. In conclusion, I shift my attention to the precariously non-poor specifically or the missing middle as they are sometimes also called.

2.2 Defining poverty

Different interpretations of what poverty is, translate into different ways to measure poverty. These interpretations are influenced by many socioeconomic factors and also what it means to live a good life (one that is, of course, free of poverty). Poverty as a concept relates to people who have too few resources or capabilities to function in society. However, before we can start thinking about solutions to the problem of poverty, we must first work through all the different ideas and understandings of what it means to be poor. Especially since "poverty is an inherently vague concept and developing a poverty measure involves a number of relatively arbitrary assumptions" (Blank, 2008:387). Laderchi, Saith & Stewart (2003:244) sums up this point in terms of the importance of a clarification of how poverty is defined since it "is extremely important as different definitions imply the use of different indicators for measurement; they may lead to the identification of different individuals and groups as poor and require different policies for poverty reduction".

Poverty and notions related to poverty, such as inequality and vulnerability, have a rich theoretical, philosophical and pragmatic history. The roots of the idea and how it relates to the actual phenomena can be traced as far back as the ancient Greek and Chinese philosophers and thinkers (see for example Ravallion 2016, Sumner 2009 and Chenyang 2012). Debates have continued around poverty and how it should be addressed and by whom. Moreover, the historical landscape affected how notions of poverty evolved and specifically what it means to be poor. Most poverty measures are underwritten by economics, sociology, statistics and social policy (see, for example, Lampman 1964, Grusky, Kanbur and Sen 2006, Orshansky 1965, Rowntree 1901, Booth 1887).

It is well documented that income or living standard poverty measurements started in Anglo-Saxon countries. The work of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree is often cited as the first documented work that attempted to analyse poverty and inequality systematically. What sets their work apart from other earlier work, is that both of them set out to understand what causes poverty and what are the effects of living in poverty (Hick, 2013:78). Although there had been other studies with detailed observations, what sets about these two remarkable studies, "were distinguished by the explicit attempt to enumerate poverty and to use direct household surveying as a means to calculate a precise rate of poverty" (Platt, 2014:32).

Charles Booth was a shipping merchant from Liverpool that moved to London in 1871. Booth's work initially focused on London's East End, but he eventually added further studies and published seventeen volumes that covered the whole city in *The Life and Labour of the People in London* in 1886. He set out to analyse poverty in London by focussing on class. He wanted to "enumerate the mass of the people of London in classes according to degrees of poverty or comfort and to indicate the conditions of life in each class" (Booth, 1902:3). The study covered many topics, although there was a strong focus on poverty, occupations and religion.

His method was mainly observational, and he recorded these observations and thoughts in a wide range of notebooks that are still available, together with the descriptive maps that he used, to view and study in the London School of Economics (Booth, 2016). Indeed, Hick (2013) notes that Booth's most valuable contribution is the maps he created in which he depicted the level of poverty on a street-by-street basis. Different colours were allocated to different household classes. For example, streets with mostly Class B households were depicted in dark blue and classified as very poor. Booth described the people as those who were "shiftless,

hand-to-mouth, pleasure-loving, and always poor" (Booth, 1887:2). In contrast, streets coloured in light blue represented the households from Class C, and although also poor they were "a pitiable class, consisting of struggling, suffering, helpless people" (1887:332). For his household study, he interviewed school board visitors that were volunteers that ensured that children attended school and thus had already concluded house-to-house visits in his areas of focus (Booth, 1887). Ultimately, Booth concluded that as much as 30% of London's population was living in poverty which was an alarming statistic given "London's position as the capital of the richest empire in the world"(Hick, 2013:78). Booth's work was an attempt to analyse the rate of poverty in London, and although the classification system that he used was somewhat judgemental, he was able to recognise the relationship between cause and effect. For example, he identified that a problem with drinking could be due to having no work but could also be the cause of not working (Platt, 2014). His primary focus remained on a description of poverty based on class and not so much on income. He identified "the sorts of conditions in which people were poor" and set out to describe these conditions. "He used a wide range of qualitative and quantitative methods in an attempt to add depth and weight to his descriptions of poverty" (Spicker, 1990:21). Indeed, "[i]t was in the inspiration it gave to subsequent researchers, rather than in the advancement of the social survey as a process of inquiry, that its key influence lay" (Platt, 2014:34) and I would add his rigorous methodology overall, as well.

Seebohm Rowntree, the son of a Quaker chocolate manufacturer and philanthropist, was influenced by his upbringing where he witnessed a good business sense combined with involvement with an employee's overall welfare. Rowntree's work was strongly influenced by Booth's work, and it is especially evident in his analysis of poverty in York in 1899 which are set out in three studies, in *A Study of Town Life* published in 1901. In the first study's introduction, Rowntree makes reference to Booth and notes that he wishes to assess how "the general conclusions arrived at by Mr Booth in respect of the metropolis would be found applicable to smaller urban populations" (Rowntree, 1901: xvii). Ultimately, Rowntree concluded that the level of poverty in York was very similar to Booth's findings, with 28% of people living in poverty. Indeed, the fact that Rowntree attempted to replicate Booth's study in his own town is "itself a key principle of subsequent social surveys and continues to represent an important element of social inquiry" (Platt, 2014:35).

Inspired by Booth's geographical approach, Rowntree classified certain streets as falling within or outside of his study. He also set out to survey each household within the demarcated area that came to a total of 11 500 households with 47 000 individuals especially since Rowntree was suspicious of sampling selection skewing results (Platt, 2014). Most important is the type of data that Rowntree chose to collect about the households, which also included comprehensive list of information about the circumstances of everyone living in the households. To complete his understanding of the household situation, he also added observational information and local knowledge. Rowntree was able to identify poor households and went a step further to identify households living in either primary or secondary poverty. Primary poverty related to the households that were under the "minimum necessary expenditure for the maintenance of merely physical health" (Rowntree, 1901:118). Secondary poverty referred to those households where the earnings "would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it was absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful" (1901:118). For example, Rowntree adds a description to a household, classified as Class A, to illustrate why they are in primary poverty:

> Husband in asylum. Four rooms. Five children. Parish Relief. Very sad case. Five children under thirteen. Clean and respectable, but much poverty. Woman would like work. The house shares one closet with another house, and one water-tap with three other houses. Rent 3s. 9d. (1901: 63)

In comparison, in better-off secondary poverty or then Class D household, "there is, practically speaking, no poverty ... except such as is caused by drink, gambling, or other wasteful expenditure" (1901: 104). Clearly, Rowntree is trying to make sense of a situation where people are responsible for their own poverty versus where their situation makes it impossible for them to move beyond poverty. These might seem like obvious questions to ask now, but it has to be noted that at the time that Rowntree and Booth were undertaking their research, the idea of poverty was not yet an important issue to research or defined in any official capacity.

What Rowntree was able to achieve through this ultimately, is a construction of a poverty line. Booth is also often credited with the idea of a 'poverty line' although he referred to it in his notebooks mostly as a 'line of poverty'. The consensus seems to be that Booth did indeed

invent “the quantitative measure that signified [a] line—the frequently cited 18 to 21 shillings” (Gillie, 1996:716). Still, Rowntree did take the idea further and was more direct in his operationalisation. “Rowntree made the case… that ‘poverty’– an apparently self-evidently recognisable phenomenon that was regarded as cultural as much as economic – was in fact a consequence of the lack of sufficient income rather than mismanagement of that income” (Platt, 2014:35). He was able to set out a minimum measure of income needed to meet the absolute basic needs by compiling and analysing the households’ budgets and incomes. He focused on food, housing and clothes, fuel and sundries. “The definition was thus a combination of an idealised adequate diet, based on expert opinion, actual expenditure on housing, and the costing of items based on working-class people’s perceptions of their use, duration and necessity” (Platt, 2014:36). His computed minimum could then be compared to what families and households were receiving and he was able to show how often households were not able to meet this minimum threshold which overlaps with primary poverty. He concluded that the households were not poor because of bad decisions or mismanagement, but rather because of a lack of income. Even though Rowntree emulated Booth’s classification method in order to try and compare the results between London and York, it was his work, related to a ‘primary poverty’ line, that had the biggest effect on future poverty research. In fact, Rowntree realised the potential of a poverty line and made the case for a ‘family wage’. The following is a seminal quote in which Rowntree sets out what his poverty line entails:

> A family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbour which costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join sick club or Trade Union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The children must have no pocket money for dolls, marbles or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco, and must drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or for her children, the character of the family wardrobe as for the family diet being governed by the regulation, ‘Nothing must be bought but that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health,

> and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economical description.' Should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die, it must be buried by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day . (Rowntree, 1901:133-134)

However, as often cited, Rowntree's primary objective was not to make the case that there should be a particular standard of living. Rather, he was trying to strengthen his research and deflect any possible criticism based on using his calculations in different circumstances that resulted in different findings. Platt (2014:38) argues that Rowntree could be described as the first longitudinal poverty analyst based on his "insights into the dynamics of poverty and his efforts to incorporate this understanding into his method". Rowntree was also able to take on the work of Booth, who explained poverty as linked to a specific class and move further to rather see someone in a state of poverty depending on different factors.

Much of what Booth and Rowntree were able to achieve can at moments feel straightforward, simple or even easy, but what makes their work instrumental is exactly based on the fact that what they achieved has become so ingrained in our understanding of poverty and even research in general that it can be taken for granted. In the socio-political moment that they were doing their research, there was no "poverty", and this was an area of novel inquiry. Still, "[t[here is an important parallel between the questions which these early studies sought to address, and contemporary concerns about whether poverty is caused by unemployment, on the one hand, or because of people's own behaviours, on the other" (Hick, 2013:81). Booth and Rowntree tried to investigate how poor people lived and survived in Britain during the 19th century. Importantly they sought to move beyond description and tried to understand the causes of poverty and thus whether someone can move beyond poverty or whether they could avoid falling into poverty in the first place.

The work strongly influenced by Booth and Rowntree that has had the most significant influence on our modern understanding of poverty is that of Peter Townsend. He contrasted his "relative deprivation" approach to Rowntree's earlier studies and "primary poverty". This would be the first moment where the idea of absolute poverty versus relative poverty would start to distil out of a broader understanding of poverty. For Townsend, what was critical is that one had to move beyond an understanding of "absolute needs" and that it was rather dependent and influenced by other factors. He famously used the example of a cup of tea

which of course does not have any real nutritional value, but that does not diminish its social importance or value. Thus, to focus only on tea as part of someone's diet would ignore how they actually live and what their specific needs are (Hick, 2013:83). This was the biggest point of criticism that Townsend had about Rowntree's work and that it is almost impossible to identify absolute needs since they are influenced by social norms and customs. "The central advance of the Townsendian conceptualisation, then, was to argue that a poverty standard must evolve over time in line with changes in social customs and expectations"(Hick, 2013:83) and that poverty is ultimately relative.

> Poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of the concept of relative deprivation… Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary or are, at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities. (Townsend, 1979:31)

Townsend sought, through a far-reaching survey, to capture how people live and to include their social customs and norms. More specifically, he used indicators of material deprivation in his poverty analysis. Townsend believed that the respondents' deprivation scores could be linked to income distribution. Through using the relationship between income distribution and his deprivation scores, he also claimed that he was able to identify a minimum threshold (Hick, 2013:83). It is here that there is the most overlap between the work of Rowntree and Townsend not only in terms of their survey methodology but also their focus on a poverty line to identify and count people that are in poverty. For Rowntree, this was related to a minimum threshold of consumption where for Townsend it was linked to his set of indicators. Townsend also constructed ideas around relative poverty in contrast to the more popular notions related to absolute poverty in use at the time. It is Townsend's work around relative deprivation that has had the biggest effect on poverty research. Indeed, he "is considered the major theorist of so-called 'relative poverty', not only in Britain but worldwide" and it remains one of the best means to, through what the respondents themselves identify as important, make sense of people's experience of poverty (Yamamori, 2019:71).

At this point, it might seem that there is a consensus on theories and measurements related to poverty and even more specifically relative poverty. However, the well-documented dispute between Amartya Sen and Townsend started because of the representation of the different understandings and applications related to the nature of relative poverty in contrast to absolute poverty (Yamamori, 2019). It is also this debate that ultimately inspired Sen's capability approach, which I will focus on in detail later in the literature review. According to Yamamori (2019), there are indeed more overlaps in Townsend's and Sen's theorisation around relative poverty than contradictions. He states that the debate is rather due to a misunderstanding of key concepts than it is a clash of theories. He notes that there are two things that ultimately see their theories as overlapping. Firstly, both are critical defining poverty by counting the median income below a percentage (50% or 60%). Secondly, "they share the belief in the social nature of need" (Yamamori, 2019:73). Yamamori (2019) also notes that this core belief is based on Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and highlights that both Sen and Townsend cite this as a starting point in their theorising (cf. Townsend, 1979:32 and Sen, 1981:18).

Yamamori (2019) also highlight that neither Sen nor Townsend's theories are without fault. In fact, it would be possible to get rid of poverty without addressing inequality. If we look at Sen and we assume that everyone's basic capabilities are met, then there would be no poverty. Yet, it would then be possible for someone to buy a new dress everyday while someone else can hardly afford to buy anything new since their capability to appear in public without shame remains intact. Similarly, there could be no poverty and all needs can be met according to Townsend's deprivation index. However, someone could still be feasting on caviar while someone else is eating a can of tuna. What Yamamori (2019) achieves in contrasting the concepts of poverty and inequality in both Sen and Townsend's theories is to highlight how easy it is to discredit their work, especially within media-political discourses, and to rather favour absolute poverty and other relative poverty theories and measures. Yet, even though both Sen and Townsend can be critiqued, it is often through conflating poverty and inequality that their work is discredited. It should be kept in mind that poverty and inequality remain two distinct concepts.

It can be argued that there are also notions that had a negative impact on poverty and policies aimed at poverty alleviation such as a 'culture of poverty'. The term was first used by Oscar

Lewis (1959) in his work related to poverty, which together with the books he wrote in 1966 and 1968 he set out his famous 'culture of poverty' thesis that was expounded by Moynihan (1965) and, more recently by Payne (2005). This theory proposes that there is an intergenerational transmission or the inheritance of poverty. This notion, which has received attention over the years, has been rebranded as the 'cycle of poverty' or the 'poverty trap'. In short, the poor are blamed for their own poverty and their current situation. Corcoran (1995:237) summarises four models that explain intergenerational poverty, namely: "the resources model, the correlated disadvantages model, the welfare culture model, and the underclass model". In contrast to the culture of the poverty debate, is the idea that poverty should rather be seen as a social condition. According to Peens (2011:3), poverty is always "produced and reproduced to broader social conditions". Where one lives, where you go to school, where and how you are employed, who are policed and where and how you are represented are all "aspects of structural inequity, and not elements of culture" (Ladson-Billings 2017:82).

What remains certain from the work of Rowntree through to Townsend and Sen is that the theory and measurement of poverty have developed and expanded. However, the tension between absolute and relative poverty definitions and measurements remains. Aside from this, there is still also much debate about what relative poverty means (what needs are important and why) and in terms of what absolute poverty means (which cut-offs are best and why). Furthermore, absolute and relative poverty measures focus on the poor and the non-poor or then the deprived and those that are not deprived. Nowhere in the discussions of any of the poverty measures mentioned so far is there a place for people that are vulnerable to poverty, the precarious non-poor. The measures focus on a static once off picture of what it means to be poor and do not account for the transient reality of poverty or that many people hover on the edge of what these measures define as poor although they remain technically non-poor. Also, when thinking about the critique levelled against both the absolute and relative poverty measures, it is easy to see that although people defined as poor can move to being non-poor this does not mean that they have an improved quality of life. The inequality they experience might be even more severe than before although they are better off marginally in financial terms or then according to absolute or relative poverty measures. It might seem that how poverty is defined is not that important as long as the

problem of the poor is solved. However, as the next section will show, who is defined as poor and who is not, has material consequences. The most consequential being that everything and everyone between poor and non-poor become either irrelevant or invisible.

2.3 Officially Poor: Institutional definitions of poverty

Our understanding of poverty influences how we measure poverty and "[h]ow we think about poverty is coloured by how we measure it" (Morduch, 2012:17). Thus, definitions of poverty and how it is measured is interpreted and applied through institutions and organisations that are responsible for addressing poverty (for example, a government's social grant department or an NGO). This is especially relevant because in most cases, the social policies that are put into place to alleviate or solve poverty are championed and funded through and by institutions. Fischer (2018:6) notes that there are "fundamental political and normative choices" inherent to the various definitions and measures associated with poverty. These "political constructs obscure or reveal the changing nature of social needs within the evolution of capitalist development" (2018:6).

Indeed, the impact of economics and the free market cannot be ignored when thinking about how and why poverty is or was defined. For example, as the type of economies of countries changed over time, so too did the type of labour that was needed for them to grow. With more and better employment opportunities, there was also the chance for people to save and move out and beyond poverty for the first time. This was also made easier when public education and health systems were put in place by the governments that ensured a welfare system to act as added support. This is easy to recognise when considering the work of, for example, Booth and Rowntree who were starting to think through poverty, in what was a very specific moment in England and its industrialisation.

Of course, this situation is more complicated when discussing developing countries such as South Africa where a history of colonialism and the legacy of apartheid greatly affected what it means to be poor and struggling in the South African context. Although there are parallels, such as the change in the type of labour people relied on to survive shifting from an agricultural background to a formal industrialised future, there is also a very important historical context. The fact that under the apartheid government people were excluded from

a range of economic activities in different sectors that also included the denial of any ownership. Workers were also exploited with low wages and severe rules compared to the social support and structure seen in the developing world only further entrenched poverty in South Africa. During apartheid, poverty was defined by race, and being white and poor meant something completely different from being black and poor. Being white and poor was a problem that could be easily solved because the poor whites were seen as a small exception to the ruling class. In contrast being black and poor was 'normal' and to a certain extent justified to maintain the steady supply of uneducated and semi-skilled cheap labour. It was easy to use definitions of poverty to prioritise and justify interventions that often better the lives of only whites to the detriment of other races (Du Plessis, 2004; Teppo, 2004; Seekings, 2007; Willoughby-Herard, 2015).

Sumner (2004:3) expands on this idea and points out that in our modern era, each decade of "the meaning and measurement of poverty and well-being has also closely reflected the position of (developmental) economics within developmental studies and the tension between economic imperialism and multi-disciplinarity". Each decade and the definitions, as well as the measurement, are summarised in Table 1 below:

Evolution of the dominant meaning and measurement of well-being 1950s-2000s		
	Period Meaning of well-being	**Measurement of well-being**
1950	Economic well-being	GDP growth
1960	Economic well-being	GDP per capita growth
1970	Basic needs	GDP per capita growth + basic goods
1980	Economic well-being	GDP per capita but the rise of non-monetary factors
1990	Human development/capabilities	Human Development and sustainability
2000	Universal rights, livelihoods, freedom	The MDGs and 'new' areas: risk and empowerment

Table 1: Evolution of the dominant meaning and measurement. Adapted from Sumner (2004:3)

The socio-economic context is thus very important to keep in mind when focusing on institutions or organisations and their definitions of poverty. Also, the idea that governments should take a leading role in addressing the problem of poverty is a modern notion. What also became more ingrained recently is the belief that not only should poverty be addressed, but

that, with the right policies and interventions (social and economic), poverty can be greatly reduced and eventually eliminated. This is articulated by Ravallion (2016:127): “By this view, poverty is in no small measure a global public responsibility, and governments and the economy are judged in part by the progress that is made against poverty”. The consequence is that the definitions of poverty become political “as it involves choices about norms and standards that cannot be determined empirically, even though they must be empirically informed”(Fischer, 2018:9). Thus, while the definitions of poverty might seem objective and scientific, it only “serves to veil underlying agendas and allows paradigmatic shifts in theory and practice to be hidden behind principles of charity and altruism” (2018:9).

The socio-political and socio-economic context is thus very important to keep in mind during the next section where institutions, governments and organisations try to create a global and universal definition of poverty.

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which is often described as a milestone document specifically regarding human rights, the notions of poverty and inequality were summarised for the first time, although under the guise of rights. Some consensus was reached about their meanings and the need to find solutions to these problems. The UDHR was drafted by the United Nations General Assembly which is made up of representatives from different legal and cultural backgrounds from all over the world. It stated fundamental human rights that should be universally protected.

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (UN General Assembly, 1984)

Although the UDHR did focus more on human rights, it is important to note that the overlap between an understanding of a lack of human rights and poverty is still prominent in the literature. In fact, the human rights-based approach is a well-established framework for action, such as to mobilise around in relation to poverty (Schuftan, 2012). Historically there has been a focus on civil and political rights, but a shift to include economic, social and cultural rights has made the link between poverty as a human rights violation clear (Osmani, 2005).

Currently, progress towards achieving human rights is frequently measured in terms of welfare or well-being across multiple dimensions, much in the same way as poverty (Alkire et al., 2015). However, just as there are debates as to how to measure poverty, so too are questions related to how human rights are measured and whether the proposed measure does, in fact, keep the UDHR's principles of indivisibility, inalienability and equality at heart (Arndt et al., 2018).

The next major moment that had an impact in terms of an official poverty definition was with the *World Development Report 1990: Poverty* where the $1 a day poverty line was set out (World Bank, 1990). "The report presented the first serious attempt to count the world's poor using a common measure"(Hulme, 2014:23) and it was estimated that around 1.1 billion people lived in extreme poverty. Based on the research of Ravallion, Dart & Van de Walle (1991), the overall aim was setting up a global poverty line that represented what poverty means with a special focus on the developing world and thus a focus on the poorest countries. Although it was a very frugal measure, it was exactly chosen because it focused attention on extreme poverty (Ravallion, Chen & Sangraula, 2009). The goal was to treat all people according to the same level of consumption, and that was possible through converting a common currency at purchasing power parity (PPP). This meant that different countries' standard of living could be compared by using the currency converter in relation to the cost of a standard 'basket of goods'. The International Comparison Program (ICP) compares what people buy and at what local price they can do so. Through the PPP, one is then able to work out what the power of the renminbi is in China compared to the power of the dollar in the United States of America (Smeeding, 2017). The World Bank poverty line has been updated often to reflect the rising cost of living. The last global poverty line update was in 2015 and is currently set at $1.90 per day (PPP).

The World Bank's global (albeit sometimes golden) standard to measure poverty was not the only measure that was put forward initially, but it was the most popular at the time. Indeed, "it is simple, easy to remember, and applies equally to all countries. It is denominated in a currency that is familiar to the relatively wealthy people who are the primary users of the measures, and who are the primary target for rhetoric based on them. The $1-a-day [line] was originally selected as being representative of poverty lines that are in use in low-income

countries … and thus is anchored in actual practice" (Deaton, 2001). The only other measure that comes close in terms of popularity and use is the $2.5-a-day poverty line (2005 PPP), which is "a much more lenient standard but one that is similarly easy for rich-country stakeholders in the development process to remember and relate to" (Woolard & Leibbrandt, 2006).

In a way the UNDP's *Human Development Report* in 1990 was almost in contrast to the World Bank and IMF measure with its focus on a broader understanding of poverty versus an income and consumption measure alone. Still, the World Bank and the IMF had and still have a dominant role in the international institutional architecture related to poverty and development (Hulme, 2014).

The Copenhagen World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) in 1995 was the next major milestone in terms of a universal definition of poverty. A two-tier measure of poverty was suggested that distinguished between 'absolute' and 'overall' poverty as well as specific actions that were identified to eradicate absolute poverty and reduce overall poverty. This measure was suggested since it could be applied to all countries for the common purpose of exploring the severity of poverty globally according to a global standard. Even in the countries where absolute poverty no longer existed, it was easy to adopt the overall measure to their needs (United Nations, 1995). The two-tier measure of poverty was based on two definitions of poverty and in this context, absolute poverty referred to a deprivation of basic human needs that include, for example, food and shelter. Overall poverty was defined in relative terms and related to income, access to resources or a lack of access to basic services such as education. So, although the WSSD focused on eradicating $1-a-day poverty, it also indirectly framed poverty as multi-dimensional. More importantly, "[t]ackling global poverty moved onto the 'international agenda' at the UN, G7, OECD, European Union, African Union, and other venues" (Hulme, 2014:25).

Another result of the WSSD and the 1$-per-day poverty definition was that there seemed to be a consensus about how to measure poverty (or then at least extreme poverty). It also became the basis for the first Millennium Development Goal, which set out to halve poverty by 2015 (United Nations, 2015a). The MDGs have since been replaced by the Sustainable

Development Goals (SDGs) that focus more on the relative nature of poverty in comparison to the absolute definitions used in the MDGs (United Nations, 2015b). A lot of attention has been paid to the problem of poverty through the MDGs and the work of the World Bank, and by their definition, extreme poverty is at its lowest point yet (Ravallion, 2016). Radelet (2016:85) sums up this progress and notes that "one billion people have escaped extreme poverty, average incomes have doubled, infant death rates have plummeted, millions more girls have enrolled in school, chronic hunger has been cut almost in half, deaths from malaria and other diseases have declined dramatically, democracy has spread far and wide, and the incidence of war—even with Syria and other conflicts—has fallen by half".

What is important to note here is that the definition of poverty set out by the World Bank not only influenced how poverty was measured but more importantly, how money to alleviate poverty was spent. The 'by whom' and the 'to whom' were both bound up in a definition of poverty in absolute terms. Even though there was some consistency in terms of defining extreme poverty in terms of the 1$-per-day cut-off there was still little consensus around how to define poverty overall. Even if there was agreement about how to define poverty, the next challenge would be how to measure it. Even with the definition set out by the World Bank, the measuring of poverty is often left to the countries and institutions to decide on, and consequently, there are now 'official' poverty measures in over a 100 countries worldwide (Smeeding, 2017). These are country-specific and relate to the specific socio-economic problems that they face for example the debate in Northern Europe and Scandinavia that focus on what the minimum income and benefits should be related to their social security programs. This would be in contrast to problems related to poverty that developing countries like India or South Africa face. There is also still little consensus on how to measure poverty exactly within international groups like the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2000) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1999) although they have published national surveys and data that track the rate of poverty in more affluent countries.

2.4 Poverty measures

The focus so far has been on the definition of poverty, and there has been some reference to the fact that poverty in itself can be seen as an ideology especially when taking into account

the role that modern politics play in how we understand poverty. In other words, who is measuring poverty and how as well as to what end is just as important as the people who are poor. Therefore, the next section will focus on the popular measures of poverty. These measures are not only based on the definition of poverty used but are also affected by policy; moreover, they, in turn, affect the choices made in policies. Just as there is a multitude of definitions related to poverty, so there are many types of means to measure poverty.

According to Fischer (2018:54), the main poverty approach include: "income/expenditure approaches; basic needs approaches; entitlement, capability and multidimensional approaches; asset, livelihood and participatory approaches; social exclusion approaches; gender approaches; and well-being approaches, amongst others". Each of these approaches has underlying and overlapping methodologies of direct or indirect measures. Direct measures refer to the concrete outcomes of poverty that usually can be observed and measured, for example, undernutrition. In contrast, indirect measures rely on a proxy such as income or expenditure that is often used to achieve or avoid the outcomes of poverty, for example, being able to have enough money to afford food. The main approaches to poverty namely the monetary approach, the multidimensional approach, social exclusion approach and the capability approach are chosen because of their importance in terms of the global poverty definition and policy such as the MDGs and the SDGs. They are also used within South Africa by our government and other institutions and groups.

2.5 Monetary approach: Drawing the poverty line

The monetary approach identifies poverty in terms of a shortfall in consumption or income, which is then usually compared to a fixed, predetermined minimum expressed as a poverty line (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003). The monetary approach relies heavily on a household survey that is used to calculate a household's consumption or income. Credence is given to consumption surveys since it is a better approximation of someone's economic status than income (Deaton 1997 & Sumner 2007). It is also a better representation of long-term income and an individual's economic status since it accounts for possible interim income fluctuations and access to resources. It also must be noted that the choice of income versus consumption

data is often also based on preference in a country or by an institution. For example, developed countries and Latin America tend to use income surveys, while South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East prefer to use consumption surveys, although often this preference is dictated by global institutions such as the World Bank (Lakner, Negre & Silwal, 2016). The monetary approach and related measures have not only dominated modern thinking and policy related to poverty but are also some of the first measures used when measuring poverty (Sumner, 2007). “Indeed, the basic idea of such a ‘poverty line’ is one of the oldest and most well-known concepts found in applied economics” (Ravallion 2016:191).

Hargreaves et al. (2007) make the point that poverty lines are usually used with income and/or consumption data, but add that there are two ways in which poverty lines can be applied, namely as an absolute measure or as a relative measure. Coudouel et al. (2002) note that relative poverty lines are “defined in relation to the overall distribution of income or consumption in a country” whereas absolute poverty lines are “anchored in some absolute standard of what households should be able to count on in order to meet their basic needs” (2002:33). In addition, although a relative poverty line should adapt according to the standard of living, an absolute poverty line should not change in accordance to the standard of living in society (Woolard & Leibbrandt, 2006). Furthermore, the interpretation of poverty lines, and thus the identification of who can be defined as ‘poor’, can either be determined objectively (set in relation to specific criteria by an outsider) or subjectively (based on what people themselves define as what it means to be poor) (Ravallion, 2016). An example of an objective poverty line is Russia’s official poverty lines (based on region-specific poverty baskets that are determined by local governments). Subjective poverty lines relate to individuals and their unique experience of poverty and have thus far only been applicable in developed countries. However, these perspectives have added to the debate on whether poverty should be viewed as relative or absolute and have given weight to the idea of “weakly relative poverty lines” that takes the view that “utility is derived from both absolute income and relative income” (Ravallion & Chen 2011:1260).

It should also be noted that poverty lines, and how they relate to different definitions of poverty, are most often arbitrary in their choice and based on a mutually understood or accepted level of what is acceptable as a ‘minimum' (Hentschel & Wodon 2002:34). It is the ‘minimum’ level necessary not to be poor and can be expressed as, for example, calories

(food), income and consumption. According to Ravallion (2016:214), this 'minimum' can also be thought about as a "physiological minimum necessary for survival". However, this is usually more relevant in developing countries than developed countries, since this absolute 'minimum' has been replaced with more relative 'minimums'. However, once resources are in place to meet a 'minimum', people may not adhere to it. Thus, people may not be necessarily better off as a sufficient level of income does not ensure that the money will be spent on a basic basket of food (Alkire & Santos, 2013). There is also some debate about whether the use of a poverty line captures the dynamic nature of poverty since it is now understood that people often move in and out of poverty and that poverty is thus not a static concept (Naudé, McGillivray & Rossouw, 2009). However, no alternative measurement suggested is as simple or easy to put in practice and can as easily translate across different contexts and countries. As Ravallion (2016) notes, to accept that poverty exists is to accept at least one poverty line. Reader(2006) elaborates on this point by referring to the distinction between night and day, and notes that nobody would deny that the one turns into the other. However, finding the precise time that the one turns into the other is a judgment call, which does not get us far in a quest for continuity in protesting that midnight is just a dark time of day.

I have already made reference to the most well-known and arguably the most influential poverty line of a $1 a day (rebased to $1.90 recently) by the World Bank. However, within the South African context, Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) use their own poverty measures and released a report detailing the absolute poverty lines used in South Africa and the trends related to the local interpretation and application of poverty lines between 2006 and 2019 (see Table 2 for a summary). It is based on three poverty lines namely the food poverty line (FPL), the upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) and the lower bound poverty line (LBPL) (Statistics South Africa, 2017 and StatsSA, 2019).

Year Unless stated otherwise linked to March prices	Food Poverty Line (FPL) in Rands	Lower-bound poverty line (LBPL) in Rands	Upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) in Rands
2006	219	370	575
2007	237	396	613
2008	274	447	682

2009	318	456	709
2010	320	466	733
2011	335	501	779
2012	266	541	834
2013	386	572	883
2014	417	613	942
2015 (April)	441	647	992
2016 (April)	498	714	1077
2017 (April)	531	758	1138
2018 (April)	547	785	1183
2019 (April)	561	810	1227

Table 2: Inflation adjusted national poverty lines, 2006-2019 (per person per month in Rands) from StatsSA, National Poverty Lines 2019. Statistical Release P0310.1. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa http://www.statssa.gov.za

It is important to note that StatsSA (2019) highlight that the national poverty line(s) should not be used to set a minimum wage determine eligibility thresholds or to determine the amount to be paid in terms of social grants. It is interesting to note that the lines that describe the South African population cannot be operationalised in these contexts. The report does not state why the poverty lines cannot be used in this capacity, but it is more than likely because these poverty lines are too low. In fact, rather than use the national poverty lines, there are other measures of poverty in use-dependent on why it is used. These measures differ according to why and by whom they are applied. Interestingly, for example, the social assistance grants and more specifically, the Child Support Grant is means-tested in relation to the income of the parent, parents, or primary caregiver. The qualifying threshold of R4300, set in October 2019, is way above the Upper Bound poverty Line that is currently used in South Africa now. A similar example is where municipalities decide on indigent policies, or in other words when a household cannot afford basic services based on a basic means test where the outcome has also been found to differ in different contexts (Neves et al., 2009; Kelly, 2014). In both instances, there is policy and interventions put in place to alleviate poverty. They are not put into practice in accordance with an official poverty line in use, but the rather context-specific.

Where does that leave us in terms of a monetary approach in terms of the precarious non-poor? The answer lies with some of the more general points of critique often made in terms of poverty lines and a monetary approach.

Laderchi, Saith & Stewart (2003) notes that even an absolute poverty line to some extent is relative since it is often determined by political consensus and not so much theory. They argue that there is not really an objective way to differentiate between the poor and the non-poor since "there is no theory of poverty that would clearly differentiate the poor from the non-poor" (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003:249). Still, even though there is some theoretical uncertainty, that does not stop the work being done in terms of a monetary approach to poverty but rather strengthens the resolve to differentiate between the poor and the non-poor. This constant push, to a certain extent, only serves to justify a political view of poverty through the guise of science. Again, the question is, who is making the decisions and for whom to what end? And would the precarious non-poor be poor on a different day if the political agenda shifts? Or would they then be better off? And more importantly, why is it necessary to focus only on the poor and the non-poor? The approach used to measure poverty might seem inconsequential, but for the people being counted and measured, there are often very material consequences.

Since there remains some uncertainty about where to draw the line between the poor and the non-poor, they are often based on behavioural breaks or differences between the poor and the non-poor and these breaks often come down to nutritional needs or income (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003). The reality is that people's needs and wants, differ in terms of what is necessary to survive and then to thrive (the example of a pregnant woman is often cited). Even though income or wages are linked to adequate levels of nutrition in terms of poverty lines (a basket of goods), the reason is not necessarily because that is the best measure, but because that is the easiest to do especially keeping in mind the kind of data that is available.

Fischer (2018) elaborates on this point and notes that the idea that monetary measures are only concerned with money or then income is misguided. Things like health and education are excluded for the most part traditionally when using monetary measures and thus the focus is mostly only on commodities. However, the point can also be made that if something like education would to be measured it would have to be converted into some kind of

measure related to money, thus turned into a commodity, but this in turn then minimises the initial value or worth of in this case the example of education. Another example that Fischer (2018) highlights is the importance of different types of labour and the importance of what is excluded. Income or wages are linked to some kind of work, but what is not accounted for is unpaid work such as domestic labour. Within gender studies there has been a focus on development and women (see for example Kabeer, 1994; Elson, 2010, 2011) and we also know that domestic labour, often described as invisible, is not without value and indeed instrumental in many households. Certainly, one of the main contributions of feminist economists and sociologists has been to focus on the care economy in relation to development and poverty interventions. The other type of labour that is often not accounted for, or at least not always represented, is informal labour which in terms of the distinction between poor and non-poor is very important (Meagher, 2016). Not only does informal labour account for a large proportion of income within the poor category, but it is also one of the reasons that people are often able to move beyond poverty.

Fischer (2018) also notes that a monetary approach and related rigorous measures do not really indicate whether a person's needs are being met in a material way and how their needs being met or not, changes over time. Thus, it is not just that someone is poor, but rather their life experience would be less fixed and often transient. In other words, the reality is that people move in and out of poverty-not monthly or yearly, but often from moment to moment. This dilemma is noted by many in the field of poverty research, yet their solution is much in line with Ravallion's (1992, 1998) argument that even if the choice of the poverty line is arbitrary, it is best to choose one line and stick to it. This then means that in the least some comparison over time is possible. However, if and when poverty lines are adapted and adjusted over time the question that should be asked is whether the change seen is actual change or just because of, for example, a carried over error in measurement. "For the sake of being provocative, even the income of a beggar will rise with rising prices. If the poverty line is set too low or adjustments to the line are insufficient, his or her situation could appear to be moving out of poverty even in the absence of any substantive change, besides receiving dimes instead of pennies" (Fischer, 2018:61). Furthermore, Fischer (2018) adds that there is increasing evidence that there is also food insecurity in more affluent countries such as the United States. Here families would be described as living well beyond the extreme poverty

cut-off but are struggling to get by. The survey data and the food prices used in the monetary approach remain a snapshot of a moment in time and do not really speak to the changing contexts such as a policy change to privatise healthcare or the effect of climatization. The question to ask is whether it is possible to ascertain with certainty then, as the monetary approach often alludes to, as to how poor the poor really were.

Another point of critique is that the monetary approach is concerned with individuals. Take the World Bank's absolute poverty line: although often used in the shortened form of is $1.90 per day the important part is that it is *per person* per day. The data that the analysis is contingent on is survey data which is collected at a household level and then disaggregated to an individual level (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003). The mere fact that the data is collected at a household level reflects some of the dynamics of how people actually live: resources are pooled, people move in and out of households depending on circumstances. Also, what a household better represents as an individual measure is the ebb and flow of resources between members that share a household.

This critique does not serve to discredit the monetary approach or the valuable work that has been done, especially in terms of trying to identify and alleviate poverty, especially extreme poverty. "Money-metric poverty measures nonetheless remain attractive because they yield exact, seemingly objective and scientific statistics, in a technical manner that can be compared and analysed with an ever-expanding battery of increasingly sophisticated statistical techniques" (Fischer, 2018:104). If we are cognisant of the fact that the monetary approach is indeed subjective (rather than objective) and influenced through and by political agendas, it remains valuable. We only need to be aware of the biases, especially as they relate to wealth and power. As with any measure, there are limitations, and the point is to be aware of them and not assume because a specific approach is popular, that it is without fault. Especially since "these measures do remain as one valuable means to aggregate within one important dimension of poverty, among a range of other imperfect options, and aggregation is also a problem with other approaches" (Fischer, 2018:104).

2.6 Multidimensional poverty measures: The dimensions of being poor

This section of the literature review attempts to address the fragmented definition and understanding of poverty to overcome some of the shortcomings of the monetary approach. Although flawed, the MDGs, often linked to absolute poverty measures and absolute targets have made way for the SDGs that can be described as representing a more multidimensional approach (Fischer, 2018). This signals not only a shift in terms of the theory of poverty but also in terms of how it is defined as an ideology. Although much has been written, I will focus on multidimensional poverty measures specifically, as mentioned in the literature related to relative deprivation and multiple deprivations. Although this area around poverty has been examined, described and explained in much detail globally and locally, it is important to highlight some of the key research areas especially in relation to the measurement and dimensions of poverty.

Although a poverty measurement based on income and/or consumption is useful, it mostly only highlights one dimension of poverty. Often, the experience of poverty and of being poor is much more complex, as there are multiple aspects of poverty. One such measurement of poverty is that of relative deprivation. Although the relative poverty approach can be, and is often, used in reference to monetary measures such as basing a country's poverty line in relation to a varying value like median household income for example. The rest of the discussion will focus on relative poverty in relation to several dimensions of poverty. This is to try and take into account access to resources above (and beyond) income. This measurement of poverty is generally done by constructing a deprivation index that involves a list of objects and activities that are universally understood in a specific society as the norm. While thinking about relative deprivation, it is also important to keep in mind that perceptions of what it means to have or lead a good life and what 'items' would be included in the list are context-specific and also change over time (Niemietz 2011:91).

Peter Townsend was one of the first people to put into practice this idea of relative deprivation. For him, deprivation is related to a wide range of dimensions that, in turn, are related to an adequate standard of living and include both the material and the social aspects. For Townsend:

> Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary patterns, customs and activities.(Townsend 1979:31)

Indeed, Townsend (1979) shows us that it is important for people to feel part of a community or group and that not being able to, for example, afford to buy a birthday present when invited to a birthday party can be considered a form of poverty. Townsend also showed us that people with limited means would often rather skip on essentials to have access to other less essential items to feel included. In other words, people will sacrifice a lot to meet the cost of social inclusion.

It is important at this point to also make the point that, although poverty and deprivation are related and often used interchangeably, authors like Nolan and Whelan (1996) argue that a clear distinction should be made between the two. In fact, this is a point that Townsend himself also makes when saying that "people can be said to be deprived if they lack the types of diet, clothing, housing, household facilities and fuel and environmental, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary" (Townsend 1987:131 and 140). Measures of deprivation relate to how people live, and deprivation can be the consequence of a lack of income as well as other resources. People are in poverty if they lack the resources to avoid deprivation (Townsend 1987).

Building on work that was done in the United Kingdom, Michael Noble and others applied the idea of deprivation as it relates to poverty to the South African context (see for example Noble et al. 2006; Noble et al. 2007; Noble et al. 2008; Noble et al. 2001; Noble & Wright 2012). Their model of multiple deprivation recognises and measures the specific dimensions of the deprivation of people living in a certain area. People are counted as deprived in one or more of the dimensions, depending on the number of kinds of deprivation that they face.

Specifically, in the South African example, they used small area level indices of deprivation that are categorised according to the geographical area in which the measures are taken. It

should also be noted that the measures are based on different conceptualisations of poverty and deprivation, and accordingly use a wide range of methodological approaches.

It is important to highlight the literature that is based on the idea that the experience of poverty is multifaceted and relative and to focus specifically on multi-dimensional poverty measures. Although the traditional and often the most popular approach to measuring poverty has been income or consumption, it seems that in future, and according to Foster & Alkire (2011), we will be using multi-dimensional poverty indexes.

Generally, the interest in multi-dimensional poverty has increased and is still growing, and this seems especially true in terms of a theory of poverty. Moreover, two important articles by Bourguignon and Chakravarty (2003) as well as Atkinson (2003) can be said to have opened the flood gates to the wave of literature that followed. Bourguignon and Chakravarty (2003) expanded on the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (FGT) indices and highlighted the relationships between the different dimensions, while Atkinson (2003) related the work on multidimensional poverty to that of welfare economics. Not only were multidimensional poverty measures starting to become more dynamic, but they were also starting to incorporate a multidisciplinary approach to addressing poverty. Lately, there has been a growing interest in multidimensional poverty measures (see for example Roelen 2017), but despite this, there seems to be no agreement on how to exactly define multidimensional poverty. Indeed, the only point of agreement seems to be that poverty is multidimensional and that poverty can entail “poor health, inadequate education, low income, precarious housing, difficult or insecure work, political disempowerment, food insecurity, and the scorn of the better off” (Alkire 2011:1). Poverty varies over time and space, as well as according to each individual’s experience.

Foster and Alkire (2011) note that not only has there been a great deal of work done on multidimensional poverty measures but the idea of thinking about poverty as multidimensional is also being used by organisations and agencies outside of academia and has even been included in the Millennium Declaration and the SDGs. Although this could be attributed to the value of the measure itself, it can also be due to the increase in data types and the availability of data. According to Alkire and Foster (2011), the goal was to construct poverty measurement methods that could be used with “discrete and qualitative data” as

well as “continuous and cardinal data” (2011:2). In other words, the aim was to create a type of measurement framework in relation to poverty that could be used to measure an abstract concept such as literacy as well as a concrete concept such as income. According to Atkinson (2003), multidimensional poverty measures built around individual indicator deprivation rated and aggregated indices through employing a counting approach.

Inspired by the work of Sen (1976) and the capability approach, multidimensional poverty measures also pay close attention to the identification of “who is poor” and the result is that their method “delivers an aggregate poverty measure that reflects the prevalence of poverty and the joint distribution of deprivations” (Foster & Alkire 2011:4). By setting up a multidimensional poverty measurement framework, it is up to individual researchers using it to decide on the selection of dimensions, dimensional cut-offs, dimensional weights and a poverty cut-off, thus making the results context-specific while at the same time having a universal framework.

Examples of multidimensional poverty measurements currently adopted would include a welfare measure such as the Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 1990) that takes into consideration a range of developmental and well-being factors such as life expectancy, literacy, school enrolment and a per-capita income. There is also the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which accounts for the gaps in the HDI in terms of gender-specific issues, although the GEM is more focussed than the GDI. The UNDP also released their non-income based Human Poverty Index (HPI) to measure poverty in both developed and developing countries. The focus is not on income, but on the range of deprivations that are associated with poverty. The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) has been recently introduced as an international measure of poverty that covers over 100 developing countries (Foster & Alkire, 2011). It is meant to compliment income-based measures of poverty that are more traditional by also capturing the deprivations that people face in terms of education, living standards and health.

The multidimensional measures and the specific ones mentioned above are not without their critics. In the case of relative deprivation, it remains relative to a certain preconceived standard and for that to be meaningful, the question of how to be relevant in the context of

"when", "where" and "why" remains. The society and people that are being researched tend to be grouped into two categories: those that are deprived and those that are not.

The same critique levelled against the monetary approach is still applicable to the multidimensional poverty measure. It is not possible to account for the evolution of people's needs and a static binary of the poor, and the non-poor was created. According to Fischer (2018:21) multidimensional measures have "a tendency to under-evaluate the dynamic reproduction of poverty within contexts of substantial structural and institutional change". Fisher illustrates his point with an example of people who urbanise and shows that whether it is due to their own choice to find better opportunities or because they are forced with eviction and this cannot be captured with a multidimensional approach. This is also important when considering the distinction between the poor and the non-poor. Is someone that is able to make choices, but described as poor worse off than someone that is just above the poverty line (thus non-poor), but don't have freedom of choice? The multidimensional approach cannot account for the dynamics of change within people's lives, and this is especially evident when the difference between the poor and the non-poor is marginal.

Multidimensional poverty measurement does go a long way to try to address the problems that result from focusing on one dimension. However, it has to deal with the contentious issue of aggregation, and there is no consensus yet on the way forward in this regard (see Lasso de la Vega & Urrutia 2011& Lustig 2011). The problem is that not only do different variables have to be combined into a composite indicator with each having a different measuring unit, but it is necessary to choose weights for each indicator. "This invariably involves prioritisation of some indicators and exclusion of others"(Fischer, 2018:115). Weighting aside, the indicators themselves are often obscure or according to Fischer (2018) whimsical. This means that every time someone decides something is important, it is added to the list of indicators. It is not necessarily based on sound reasoning or even relevant to poverty analysis. Also, some indicators are too abstract to measure accurately (such as happiness). It is very hard to measure, especially with something like rape, or it is likely to be underreported or misrepresented.

There is also no analysis of the normative decisions that must be made by researchers that most probably do not have any experience of the lives lived by the people that are being

researched. For example, how do we judge whether it is better to be healthy and unemployed or very ill but employed? Roelen (2017) makes a similar point and notes that indications unavoidably remain a proxy seeking to capture complex and essentially hidden concepts of poverty. Moreover, it is often argued that the indicators used are quite arbitrary in their choice and do not allow people to be active social agents making their own choices about how they would want to live.

For the multidimensional measure of poverty to really work, the indicators must be read together as a composite. However, what do these indicators really tell us? Does it truly reflect someone's lived reality or is it just a collection of indicators? And then the next question is whether it can really tell us if someone is poor or not. The result is more than an overall description of what the collected data represents than whether it is a representation of people and how they live/survive. The problem also arises when this measure, which is rather descriptive or evaluative, is used as a targeting measure, especially through global entities such as the World Bank.

Even with this complex and more vibrant measuring tool, society is cut into two sections: The poor and the non-poor or the deprived and the not deprived. Multidimensional poverty measurement does to some extent try to resolve this issue by acknowledging that someone can be deprived in one area of their life, while not being deprived in another, or able to experience multiple deprivations simultaneously, while weighting deprivations accordingly. What remains hidden though is that even a positive outcome in terms of multidimensional indicators can be due to something bad. Fischer (2018:22) uses the example of an increase in income or wages being due to working longer hours, having to hold down multiple jobs or not taking sick or maternity leave. Again, the question arises whether it is then really possible to distinguish between the poor and the non-poor?

Unfortunately, as with monetary approaches, multidimensional approaches also represent certain dimensions (although not necessarily income) that are linked to a specific threshold that represents well-being. Thus, although there are more dimensions to be considered, each dimension is static in time and divided into two (have or have nots). "[I] in adding more information and in requiring conversion of non-comparable units into a single metre, multidimensional poverty lines actually render the exercise of measuring poverty even more

opaque, complex and arbitrary" (Fischer, 2018:109). In terms of understanding and laying plain the role of politics, the example above also show that multidimensional approaches stumble because positive gains in any of the dimensions cannot really be attributed to the improvement of people's lives. In fact, the positive gains (like an increase in wages) only hide the socio-economic inequalities that remain intact.

Although monetary approaches have been the dominant choice by researchers and policymakers, there seems to be a shift taking place. Unlike the MDGs, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) include a target refereeing specifically to multidimensional poverty (United Nations, 2015b). The World Bank, historically a strong proponent of monetary measures, has also engaged the audience in a public consultation on questions related to the use of non-monetary measurement (World Bank, 2015). There are of course other measures that offer an alternative view to monetary poverty measures and the multidimensional poverty measures, for example, the basic needs approach (Streeten 1981; 1984) and social exclusion methods (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997; De Haan, 1998). The next section will focus on the social exclusion method.

2.7 The social exclusion approach

The social exclusion approach was first conceived in industrialised countries to understand better the processes of marginalisation and deprivation which can still occur in wealthy countries that have comprehensive welfare systems in place (Madanipour, Shucksmith & Talbot, 2015) . "It was a reminder of the multiple faces of deprivation in an affluent society" (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003:257).

It can be argued that social exclusion and poverty, although related, remain distinct. Although poverty will often lead to areas of social exclusion, one can be socially excluded without being poor. Still, social exclusion still has a strong role to play, especially in EU social policy where it is often framed with poverty. Du Toit (2004) even makes the case that in some instances, social exclusion has replaced poverty. This is concerning especially since in the North, and specifically in wealthy homogenous European countries those excluded are "mentally and

physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, drug addicts, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal, asocial persons' and others who were not protected by social insurance" (Silver, 1994:532). As Du Toit (2004) notes, this is in contrast to the South and Sub-Saharan countries where the people excluded are not exceptions, but often represent the majority of the population. Still, the social exclusion approach maintains its popularity because it overlaps and can extend beyond other popular poverty approaches and measures.

According to Atkinson (1998), social exclusion has three main characteristics that include relativity, agency and dynamics. Room (1999) adds multidimensionality to the description, a neighbourhood dimension, and discontinuity. What further sets apart social exclusion from other approaches, especially those focused on deprivation, is that the poor can also be identified. Social exclusion is also defined in terms of groups and not individuals. This is in contrast to the focus of the previous approaches since they are specifically individualistic in their outcomes and target. Social exclusion is "socially defined, and is often a characteristic of groups (the aged, handicapped, racial or ethnic categories) rather than pertaining to individuals" (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003:258). Consequently, policy decisions based on the social exclusion approach targets groups whereby individuals also benefit, for example, through affirmative action.

Social exclusion is context-specific since the focus is on who is deprived at a certain moment in time and place. Thus, what are the normal things that a certain group are excluded from? Since it is context-specific, it also highlights the relative nature of the social exclusion approach. There are also many different dimensions of deprivation of exclusion that are defined within the social exclusion approach. Indeed, this is often not only one thing, and that is where the social exclusion approach also represents a multidimensional view. "Furthermore, empirical work points to causal connections between different dimensions of exclusion, e.g. between employment and income; housing and employment; formal sector employment and insurance" (Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2003:258). Take the example of a lack of income: it is both an outcome and cause within the social exclusion approach since a lack of income can be because of an absence of employment while not having income can lead to someone feeling socially isolated. The social exclusion approach also focuses not only on

those who are excluded but is able to switch sides then and analyse, who is doing the excluding. Thus, not only is the agency of the groups important, but it is possible to attribute responsibility to change the status quo beyond the groups that are being researched.

One of the main strengths of the social exclusion approach is also its biggest weakness. The social exclusion approach is especially adepts in providing insights in terms of the many processes of subordination, stratification and segregation. Indeed, with rising and high levels of inequality, these issues are not always captured through a lens of poverty. Yet, that is where its downfall lies because in trying to combine the social exclusion approach with poverty, issues of exclusion and marginalisation not associated with poverty are lost (Fischer, 2018). The concept of social exclusion is also linked to ideas of discrimination and disadvantage. Fischer (2018:183) makes the point that it might be possible to still use social exclusion in itself and not in relation to poverty, yet he is not sure if it is possible to do that with discrimination and disadvantage. He also makes the point that if we have other approaches with clear concepts, and not as murky as exclusion/inclusion, it is necessary to carry on using the social exclusion approach. So although the social exclusion approach could add value in our understanding of the precarious non-poor, Fischer (2018) asks whether the extra work is worth the little value it will add. Laderchi, Saith & Stewart (2003:263) adds to this point and highlights the "data deficiencies with respect to dimensions of social exclusion. These deficiencies reflect a prior preoccupation with monetary poverty and not any intrinsic property of the data".

Another key point of critique that follows on the point above is the distinction between excluded, being negative, and included, being positive. However, how one is included is sometimes just as detrimental as being excluded. An example would be not having employment (excluded) versus being employed in an underpaying menial job (included). This is especially relevant in the South African context where although people were marginalised during apartheid, in the moments that they were included it was still on unequal terms (Du Toit, 2004). This brings us back to the point raised earlier that since there are problems pinning down an exact definition of social exclusion, it is even more challenging in developing countries since " 'normality' is particularly difficult to define in multipolar societies, and because there can be a conflict between what is normal and what is desirable" (Laderchi,

Saith & Stewart, 2003:259). Each definition of social exclusion, therefore, needs to be country or society-specific with unique measures which again brings up the point of relevant data availability and deficiencies.

Both the monetary approach and the multidimensional approach to poverty can be described as indirect measures which mean that they are not able to really show if income is converted "into actual outcomes of well-being, whether objective well-being such as health or education, or subjective well-being such as happiness" (Fischer, 2018:111). This is where both the social exclusion approach and the capability approach of Amartya Sen have value. The next section will focus on the capability approach.

2.8 The capabilities approach

As our definitions and theories around poverty evolve, these broader definitions require different types of measurement. One of the key contributors to our understanding of poverty has been the capability approach. I will elaborate on it in the next section, but it is important to highlight some of the multidimensional poverty measurements that are in use or that have been inspired by the capability approach. It should also be noted that much of the work that Sen did within the capability approach is also because of his critique of current poverty theory and measures such as the monetary approach. Indeed, Sen shifted the focus of poverty measures from a means to an end (for example, moving away from having the income to buy food to the idea of being well-nourished) (Sumner, 2004).

The capability approach underlines the multidimensional nature of poverty and does not only focus on its material dimensions (Hick, 2012). To understand what sets the capability approach apart from other poverty measures is that it is not a measure. The strength of the capability approach is that it is a descriptive tool rather than a concrete measure. The capability approach can be used in a wide selection of contexts outside of poverty, such as the analysis of health economics or even the success of a small developmental garden project. However, its foundation and much of the work that has been done thus far are in terms of poverty and development. Sen (1976) already saw that to find a solution to poverty, it was

necessary to solve the poverty measurement problem first and to do this, it has to be approached in two steps, namely the identification of those classified as poor; and the aggregation of the characteristics of those identified as poor into an encompassing indicator. The first problem could be solved by using the income and or consumption levels of people, where a person is thought to be poor if their income/consumption falls below a specific poverty line (Bourguignon & Chakravarty, 2003). However, in terms of the second step, Sen (1976) remained critical of aggregation methods and suggested a sophisticated measurement index of poverty that uses a self-evident approach related to the overall well-being of people to which he referred to as the capability approach.

The capability approach is a framework that is directly concerned with human capability and freedom. It was developed and refined by Sen over many years (1980; 1984; 1985; 1987; 1992; 1999). Sen himself notes Adam Smith's (1976) analysis of "necessities" and living conditions as well as Karl Marx's (1844) interest with human freedom and emancipation as his inspiration. However, according to Sen (1993), the strongest connection is in fact, with Aristotle's theory of "political distribution" and his understanding of "human flourishing" (also known as eudemonia). This is indeed reflected in Sen's capability approach and according to it "the objective of both justice and poverty reduction...should be to expand the freedom that deprived people have to enjoy 'valuable beings and doings'" (Alkire 2005:117). This notion is at the core of what the capability approach stands for, not only in relation to poverty but also in terms of overall well-being. Not only is it necessary to understand a person's experience of poverty, but also to know what opportunities they have available to them and whether they are actually able to make a choice in taking up these opportunities to convert them into meaningful activities or resources in their lives.

2.8.1 Capabilities and functionings

Most critical to the capability approach is an understanding of what Sen describes as "capabilities", "functionings", "freedoms" as well as the importance of "choice". In short "capabilities are real freedoms or real opportunities, which do not refer to access to resources or opportunities for certain levels of satisfaction" (Robeyns 2017:39). Thus, it is what people are supposed to be able to be and do as 'beings' and 'doings'. Capabilities can be either

positive or negative: 'being educated' or 'being illiterate' in terms of beings and "caring for someone" or "travelling" in terms of doings. Capabilities or freedoms are a person's actual ability to take up opportunities to achieve functionings. To elaborate on the travelling example: The opportunity to travel is the capability while actually being able to go on a trip, travelling, is a functioning. In other words, the capability of travelling is realised by going on a trip. There are many reasons that someone may not be able to travel, such as not having the funds available, not physically being able or having a severe disability. Moreover, an individual may live in a society, such as a strict religious society that disallows travel for a single woman, for example, or travel may not be geographically possible because of challenges in terms of access to transport. Thus, although the capability and the opportunity to travel are available to all, the actual *travelling*, the realisation of the capability is not as simple. Indeed, that is what the capability approach sets out to capture in that a person must be free to be able to choose to travel if they would want to. Not having the choice, or then the freedom to choose, means that the capability or the opportunity does not exist, and therefore it cannot be realised in terms of a functioning. Perhaps this is also best described in terms of Sen's (1987b) own example in relation to the difference between fasting and starving. A person is only fasting if they choose not to eat. A person who is starving has no choice in terms of whether they can eat or not. Thus, although the related capability is food security, whether the choice is there to take up the capability or not greatly impacts on how it is realised in terms of a capability.

The capability approach is not limited to specific functionings, but rather the opposite since functionings represent the many diverse aspects of what people value in their lives. This can be, for example being able to eat healthy, being able to travel or even being confident. Functionings can be either potential or achieved. Here the concept of "potential" brings in that of an outlook in terms of the future. "A person's capability is then equivalent of a person's opportunity set"(Robeyns 2005:101), and these potential or future "functionings" are often labelled "capabilities". What is also most important about the capability approach is that Sen does not identify one key set of functionings just as he does not really prioritise capabilities, since it is clear that one set will not be able to apply across all contexts and to all people. In other words, "[t]he identification of what people value, the selection of which priority functionings a particular poverty reduction initiative should aim to expand, and the actual

expansions that are to be evaluated..., are each separate questions" (Alkire 2005:119). If we take the example of eating healthy, an active elite athlete will have a different nutritional need versus that of a sedentary office worker. The capability approach can account for both these different functionings within the capability since "the capability approach holds that human beings are diverse. Not only do they live in different societies with different social norms and environmental circumstances, but they also have different and diverse personal goals in life that they wish to pursue" (Byskov 2017:2).

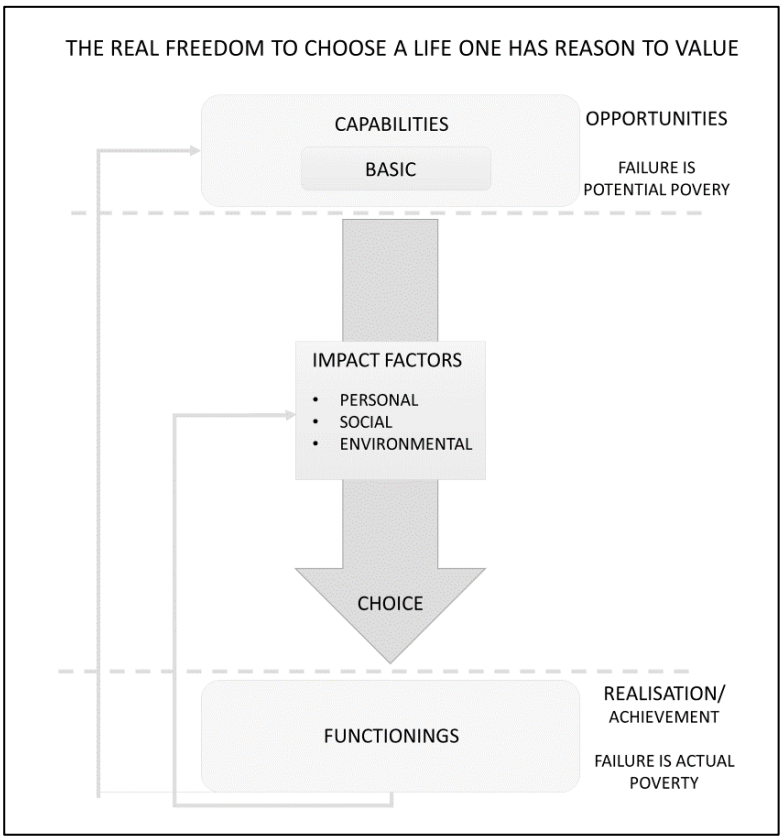

Figure 1: Diagram summarising the Capabilities Approach, Adapted from Kjeldsen (2015)

To understand the capability approach fully, it is important to note that both functionings and capabilities are of neutral value. That means that they can be either positive or negative. However, it is true that your life is better if it is free of negative functionings or capabilities. Thus, overall well-being is not only contingent on maximising positive capabilities and their related functionings but also on weakening negative capabilities and functionings (Robeyns, 2017), which should be actively avoided. In terms of illustrating what a negative functioning is, one can use the example of someone suffering from chronic pain, from a severe illness or being exposed to unjustifiable violence. In all cases the person would be better off without

the outcome of the functioning. Similiarly, Nussbaum (2003) illustrates this point in relation to negative capabilities by referring to rape, which cannot be defended for any reason. Anyone who would justify rape, such as when it is legal to do so, or if it is illegal yet never leads to any form of punishment, can be said to enable the capability of rape. Yet, rape is morally cruel and causes huge distress to its victims. Clearly, this is not a capability that we should protect (Robeyns, 2017). Deneulin & Stewart (2002:67) summarise the point:

> […] some capabilities have negative values (e.g. committing murder), while others may be trivial (riding a one-wheeled bicycle). Hence there is a need to differentiate between 'valuable' and non-valuable capabilities, and indeed, within the latter, between those that are positive but of lesser importance and those that actually have negative value.

So even though the case can be made that functionings and capabilities are neutral, the fact that, in the very least, the outcomes of both can have negative consequences does create a value judgement as to which functionings we would want to support and/or allow and which ones we would want to reject or even try to completely eradicate.

This leads us to our next point: should we select key capabilities to focus on when doing research?

2.8.2 Basic capabilities

The literature mostly argues that the list of capabilities and functionings that we should focus on should depend on the individuals in terms of the life that they value. However, even though Sen is critical of a list of capabilities, he has seen the relevance and value of having a set of "basic capabilities" to focus on, especially in relation to poverty and deprivation (Sen, 1987a). Although capabilities refer to a wide range of opportunities, the notion of basic capabilities "refers to the real opportunity to avoid poverty or to meet or exceed a threshold of well-being" (Robeyns 2017:95). Thus, people should be able to achieve a minimum threshold in terms of the capability approach, especially its application to poverty research.

What is very important to note in terms of basic capabilities is that they should be viewed as a capability set. This is one of the most important aspects of the capability approach in my

opinion: it is not just that a person should have access to a single capability, but rather a set of capabilities. Robeyns (2014) uses the example of someone working 60 hours per week, who has access to the capability of employment and are able to feed their children while also meeting some other essential needs. However, that individual cannot supervise their children nor spend time with them and thus is unable to realise the capability of parenting and social relationships. Therefore, they are lacking in other capabilities. In other words, to champion labour or employment as a key capability might lead to the sacrificing of one capability in order to achieve another.

Nussbaum's (2006) theory of justice takes this idea further and sets out a list of basic capabilities (or rather central capabilities) to which everyone should be entitled. Nussbaum takes a harder stance than Sen, but this is mostly related to the context from within which she writes and the audience that she has in mind. Sen gave us the capability approach mostly because he was critical of monetary measures of poverty or in other words, welfare economics. Nussbaum tries to build on this and incorporate a more rounded capabilities ethic that incorporates human development. Although Nussbaum tries to be more ambitious and precise in her approach, it can be argued that she sometimes falls into the very traps the capabilities approach initially set out to avoid by being too ambitious (Gasper, 1997). Although Sen brings to the fore and explains concepts like agency, entitlement and capability, he does not go further and try to speak to an audience that is wider than his economic background. Nussbaum tries to do exactly that by giving a dense and realistic explanation of what agency, choice and action mean to people in their daily lives, but then only succeeds in being too prescriptive once again, which detracts from the value of her work.

Nussbaum (2011) further distinguishes between three different types of capabilities: basic capabilities, internal capabilities and combined capabilities. For her, basic capabilities entail “the innate equipment of individuals that is necessary for developing the more advanced capabilities”, such as the capability of language, which needs to be encouraged to develop into a capability (Nussbaum 2000:84). Internal capabilities are traits that have been developed within family, political and socio-economic environments. An example of how internal capabilities would be developed is through education. Combined capabilities, in turn, represent the opportunity where someone has to act in their specific socio-economic and political environments. Thus, to continue with the above example, an individual would be able

to develop this capability if the educational opportunities were available and choice related to education that one has access to within their experience. To a certain extent, combined capabilities can be explained as internal capabilities that include the specific socio-economic and political conditions as well as environments. More central to the way that basic capabilities are used in this thesis is the identification of ten central capabilities (namely life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliations; other species; play; and control over one's environment) that are equated to rights. Within an individual's central capabilities, the burden is on the state to create the conditions in which people can secure these capabilities with dignity while leading a good life.

Nussbaum (2011) argues that there are different versions of the capability approach, and her version includes ideas around social justice (such as human dignity and political liberalism). This is already evident in her link between rights and capabilities as well as the central role that the state has to play. In terms of our earlier example of fasting versus starving, Nussbaum[2] would elaborate and point out that a "just society will make sure that people can be well-nourished, but will not force-feed them if they choose to fast" (Nussbaum 2012:124). Therefore, not only should individuals' needs or wants to be addressed through capabilities and their corresponding functionings but also through the interventions of the state and institutions. The capability approach focuses on abilities as opposed to resources, and this means that it also acknowledges that different people will have different needs that depend on themselves and their context. It also means that if someone is just above the poverty line (that is, they have enough resources in terms of income), they need no further intervention from the state in the form of other institutions and individuals. What the capability approach does show us is that it is not enough to ensure that someone has the ability to live a good life. It remains up to the individual whether or not they choose to take up the opportunities to improve their lives; however, they should have the opportunity to choose to do so.

2.8.3 Freedom, choice and the capability approach

[2] See also for example Nussbaum et al. 1993; Nussbaum 2000; Nussbaum 2011; Comim & Nussbaum 2012

Although there is much debate about what constitutes a well-being threshold in terms of capabilities and functionings, there is more clarity about the importance of "freedoms" and "choice". It is not enough that people have access to certain functionings through capabilities. What is important is that they have the freedom to choose what capabilities people value and that they are free to pursue what functionings they want. The more freedom people have, the more opportunity they have to engage in those objectives that they view as important. "The 'good life' is partly a life of genuine choice and not one in which the person is forced into a particular life — however rich it might be in other respects" (Sen 1996:59). What is also significant about how freedoms are understood in the capability approach is that the intrinsic value of freedom is irrelevant of class and culture. People do not need to lead prosperous lives in order to want more from life in general. Furthermore, it is possible that two people with the same set of capabilities (future functionings) can end up leading two very different lives, which are still fulfilling because they made different choices. "[T]he capability approach respects people's different ideas of the good life, and this is why in principle capability, and not achieved functionings, is the appropriate political goal" (Robeyns 2005:101). The process of choice, or in other words, the freedom to choose is just as important as the choice that is made.

2.8.4 Impact factors and the capability approach

Within the capability approach, there are certain impact factors or conversion factors that affect one's ability to attain certain functionings within their capability sets. Although there are many descriptions and categorisations within the literature, Robeyns (2005) distinguishes between three main factors, namely personal characteristics, social characteristics and environmental characteristics. Sen uses the example of a bike to explain the idea of the usefulness of a resource. We can assume that in terms of a capability, a bike has the potential for transport. Moreover, in terms of converting it to a functionings, it would be, being able to travel from point A to point B faster than walking. However, it might not be possible for a person to convert this resource into the corresponding functionings based on the three aforementioned conversion factors. Firstly, in terms of personal characteristics, a person must have the knowledge of how to ride a bike and physically be able to do so. In terms of the second conversion factor, it must be socially and normatively acceptable for a person to ride a bike. For example, a woman living in a strict religious community would struggle to ride

freely around town if it is not an accepted activity. The last conversion factor, namely the environmental characteristics, would in this example relate to the physical area that a person finds themselves in, which would affect how difficult or easy it is to ride a bike. It makes sense that it would be easier to convert the resource of a bike to transportation in a city or town that has bike paths, for example. It could also simply be too hot or too cold weather-wise to justify a bike as a viable means of transport.

> The three types of conversion factors all push us to acknowledge that it is not sufficient to know the resources a person owns or can use in order to be able to assess the well-being that he or she has achieved or could achieve; rather, we need to know much more about the person and the circumstances in which he or she is living (Robeyns 2017:46).

In short, the capability approach values all changes related to a person's quality of life: "from knowledge to relationships to employment opportunities and inner peace, to self- confidence and the various valued activities made possible by the literacy classes. None of these changes are ruled out as irrelevant at all times and places" (Alkire 2005:119). It is thus possible to consider the capabilities of a poor person as well as a rich person. In addition, there are more complex capabilities as well as basic capabilities that can be investigated in line with Nussbaum's explanation and Sen's philosophy.

2.8.5 The precarious non-poor and the capability approach

The central concepts of the capability approach are functionings, capabilities and agency (also related to freedom). Through using the capability approach as a theoretical framework and the core concepts, it is possible to analyse the functionings of a specific group (in this case the precarious non-poor) to make sense of their current situation. Moreover, it is possible to imagine what the future will hold by focusing on capabilities. However, the most important aspect that the capability approach addresses is that at the heart of this study, there is no universal right way to live or to lead a good life. Not only should people have access to functionings (beings and doings), they should also be free to choose which functionings are of value to them. The capability approach measures people's quality of life within the socio-economic and political context in which they find themselves. What the capability approach

also captures quite elegantly is the temporal aspect of leading a good life, and this is especially relevant to people leading a precariously non-poor life. At any moment, it may be possible to slip into poverty, but it may also be possible to move beyond this precarious position. Why and how this happens will, of course, be influenced by the capabilities (future freedom to choose functionings) people can access.

The open-ended nature of the capability approach means that it is up to the researcher to interpret and apply. In a sense, it is necessary to create a capability theory based on the capability approach that is relevant to the particular field of study (Robeyns, 2005). Quantitative surveys and cross-sectional data are mostly used to measure functionings (Klasen, 2000; Kuklys, 2005; Roche, 2008). Some of the most prominent work in this regard has already been mentioned under the discussion of multidimensional poverty measurements. On the other hand, qualitative data, such as interviews (semi-structured and open-ended) and focus groups are used to evaluate capabilities and focus on issues related to choice, freedom and agency (Chiappero-Martinetti et al., 2015). For the purposes of this research, the latter is the most valuable in terms of making sense of the livelihoods of the precarious non-poor. Chiappero-Martinetti et al. (2015:119) point out that a qualitative focus within the capability approach enables us to do the following:

> Investigate what 'people have reason to value', to develop and agree on capability lists through deliberative consultations, to investigate the role of social and cultural norms in shaping preferences and choices and to evaluate how participatory methods themselves can impact on people's capabilities.

This does not mean that this kind of research is without its faults or that the capability approach is infallible. This approach can involve often tedious and expensive research that is difficult to verify, which leads to questioning its reliability and validity. Some suggest that the transferability of the findings could also be limited, but I would argue that, at the heart of the capability approach, there is not a one-size-fits-all solution and that the onus is on us as researchers to make sense of the findings. I would also argue that this is true to the nature of most qualitative research and not unique to the capability approach lens. However, this should not deter the valuable work being done and rather force us to be more rigorous.

The capability approach is especially relevant to this study since many other theoretical approaches related to well-being often remain poverty slanted. In other words, the emphasis often remains on the poor, whereas definitions and interventions of how not to be poor are imposed from above. This leads to another area in the literature that is of importance to the study, which relates, in broad terms, to how we talk about those people who are (just) above the poverty line and about those who are (just) slightly deprived.

2.8.6 Prosperity and the capability approach

Within this thesis and in line with the capability approach, a focus on prosperity, wellbeing and/or quality of life are seen, to a certain extent, as trying to achieve the same goal which is to move people towards a better life. This is especially relevant when the focus is on people in poverty and in vulnerable groups. It should be noted that sometimes in the literature prosperity is linked specifically to economic wellbeing while wellbeing overall includes an array of different dimensions usually dependent on the index that is being used. However, for the purposes of the thesis, moving from precariousness to prosperity means that people improve their economic wellbeing, but that this also relates to an improved quality of life overall. Also, since the precarious non-poor are firstly identified according to their income, economic wellbeing remains key in how poverty and then being securely non-poor is also defined. Ultimately, the goal is to lead a prosperous life (which would include all aspects of wellbeing).

In the past an economic focus was justified and preferred since it was argued that economic growth would lead to prosperity (directly and indirectly). Jobs, and employment overall, when only governed by the free market often means that people are underpaid and overworked. However, “measures of objective and subjective wellbeing indicate that rising prosperity is not shared by everyone, and some groups of people are falling further behind” (Dalziel, Saunders & Saunders, 2018: v). This led to a shift from an income or monetary only measures to measures of overall wellbeing. Key in this shift in focus was the 2009 *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress*, overseen by Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi. In terms of Sen’s capability approach wellbeing can be improved by expanding the capabilities of people. This in turn will put them in a position to live a life that they value (Sen, 1999). For Sen, income would be one of the instruments (with other

resources as well) that leads to an improved quality of life. Thus, you cannot have overall wellbeing without being prosperous. Jackson, (2009, 2017), inspired by the work of Sen and critical of an economic growth focus, defines prosperity as one's ability to thrive as human beings. However, he takes it a step further and adds:

> To do well is in part about the ability to give and receive love, to enjoy the respect of our peers, to contribute usefully to society, to have a sense of belonging and trust in the community, to help create the social world and find a credible place in it. In short, an important component of prosperity is the ability to participate meaningfully in the life of society. (Jackson 2017:212)

Interestingly, key to Jackson's understanding of prosperity as it relates to wellbeing, is a focus also on the ecological limits that we are currently starting to face in the world. In other words, he is adding our natural environment as a dependent (and I would argue predictor) of our future prosperity. I would argue that in terms of the capability approach, the state of our natural enviroment is understood as a conversion factor and would be seen as having an impact on potential or future prosperity. Thus, a focus on wellbeing can capture not only a person's quality of life currently, but also how prosperous they can be in the future. This shift in focus to include sustainability and specifically how to sustain wellbeing for everyone in the future as well, is an important focus in the current literature around wellbeing and quality of life that is being written up (Bartelmus, 2018).

Wellbeing and prosperity remain complex concepts to capture and often lose their objectivity when operationalised to be measured[3] (Bartelmus, 2018). Keeping in mind these limitations, the value of trying to improve people's overall quality of life and the reward of hopefully succeeding justifies a focus on wellbeing and prosperity.

There is also a focus in this thesis on being securely non-poor (SNP). Firstly, it relates to the income categories set out in terms of what it means to be precariously non-poor. Secondly, it

[3] For example The Legatum Prosperity Index (LPI) defines prosperity by combining subjective wellbeing and income

is taken to mean that if you are securely non-poor you are prosperous and able to lead a good life. Of course, there are instances, when taking into consideration wellbeing, that someone will be financially well off, but still lacking in for example feeling safe (living in a city prone to crime or being in an abusive relationship can detract from wellbeing for example). Still, the focus is on increasing wellbeing overall for everyone and to be able to do this, people that are poor and preciously non-poor must move onto and into prosperity.

2.9 The precarious non-poor

The next section of the literature review will focus on the concept of the precarious non-poor and how it has been defined in the literature and operationalised in practice. Taken within the context of what has been discussed in terms of poverty measures so far, there has been a focus on those under the (poverty) line in terms of research and policy. This view breaks society into two groups: the poor and non-poor or the haves and have-nots. This has both normative and intellectual consequences because this binary discourse of poverty misses two important issues that firstly, poverty is often transient and that a significant number of people continuously slip in and out of poverty and secondly there are a constant group of people who remain vulnerable to being poor that survive just above the poverty line.

According to Sieber (2018) precarious prosperity describes the position between being poor and being securely prosperous. It was first conceived by Hübinger (1996) based on a quantitative study in Western Germany that focused on poverty and inequality. It was later further developed by Budowski et al. (2010) who notes that it is "the dynamic position in the vicinity of the position of poor and yet not part of the established, more prosperous positions in society" and is a structural position that has been largely overlooked in current research (2010:3). This has slowly started to change and I would argue that it is because of a frustration and perhaps a disillusionment with the dominant binary definition of poverty while at the same time seeing that 'successes' in terms of poverty interventions do not necessarily mean an improvement in the quality of people's lives overall.

Indeed, the most important aspect of precarious prosperity is that it overcomes the need for a dual conception of society (i.e. 'the haves and have nots' or 'the poor' and the 'non-poor') while still being able to work with the poverty cut-offs and related data. It also captures the

temporal aspect of the experience of poverty that often happens for a moment versus a permanent state. It enables us to talk about poverty and mobility across specific lines, whether it is conceptualised along with income or class. It also allows for a discussion around poverty and its structural attachment to labour (Budowski et al., 2010). More importantly, it highlights the fact that mobility can be upward as well as downward. Camfield & Monteith (2018:95) note that "[c]rossing from poverty to precarious prosperity is more common than upward mobility to secure prosperity" and that worryingly it is this segment of the population that is expanding "due to economic deregulation and structural adjustment". What a focus on precarious prosperity further emphasises is that that the conditions responsible might not be related to it or, as logic would want to dictate, that it leads to the opposite of the initial situation. For example, it can be assumed that gaining employment would lead to a better life when, in fact, it might lead to less access to social support and one could be worse off than before or having to work longer hours leading to a decrease in quality of life. Indeed, as Budowski et al. (2010b) note, precarious prosperity combines perspectives of poverty and social inequality/insecurity to capture the uncertainty faced by people trying to maintain a certain degree of well-being while at the same time shifting the focus away from a dual society approach (poor and non-poor) or seeing poverty as a permanent state that needs to be solved absolutely. At the same time a focus on those in a precarious position also emphasises either their vulnerability to poverty or the intense struggle of knowing that one's prosperity is far from secure.

Shifting the to the application of precarious prosperity within research, the developed world (rich countries) focus on precarious prosperity meaning that the emphasis is on people moving successfully and securely into prosperity, while in the developing world (poor or middle-income countries) the focus is often more on the people, precarious non-poor, that are vulnerable to poverty. In both instances there are distinct socio-economic and policy concerns related to the different contexts (Camfield & Monteith, 2018). South Africa falls into the latter category and so far, the focus has been on poverty eradication and alleviation, but as noted a 'success' in this necessarily means that there is a segment of the population that is concentrated just above the poverty line. In terms of long terms solutions within the context of social policy design, a focus on people vulnerable to poverty is just as important as those who are in poverty. A focus on the precarious non-poor also focuses on moving people out of

poverty, but with the understanding that surviving beyond poverty is still not having security and stability in terms of a consistent quality of life. The focus on precarious prosperity is often already a step ahead and that the focus is now on moving people from the unstable and inconsistent space above the poverty line onto a secure and prosperous life. Although, ideally, the end goal of all social policy interventions should be for everyone to have secure prosperity but in developing countries this clearly cannot be the starting off point.

Within the literature there is also a growing body of work related to precarious prosperity, but as noted above, how the concept is applied depends on the context and so far, the focus has been in the developed world. Interesting quantitative research focusing at a household level has been done in Switzerland by concentration around their poverty line (see for example Tillmann & Budowski, 2004 and Farago et al., 2005). It is also in Switzerland where there has been longitudinal follow up on precarious prosperity, but also with a quantitative focus (Tillmann, Maurizia Masia & Budowski, 2016). There has also been work done with a qualitative focus that include issues around quality of life and adaption in context with precarious prosperity (Budowski, Schief & Sieber, 2016 and Vlase & Sieber, 2016). However, this also has a developed European emphasis. In addition, there has been research conducted in Romania around precarious prosperity and although Romania is part of the European Union, they are often cited as one of the poorest and insecure countries within Europe (Precupetu, Preoteasa & Vlase, 2015 see also Preoteasa, Vlase & Tufă, 2018). Interestingly though, the research also technically has a European context, it is clear that with a change to a less developed and less affluent country, the focus shifts from prosperity to a vulnerability to poverty. In this case, the focus was on what was keeping Romanian urban dwellers from slipping into poverty after the financial crisis. Likewise, there has been longitudinal research done by tracking precarious prosperity during the financial crisis in Chile and Costa Rica (Budowski & Schief, 2011). Here the emphasis was on vulnerability to poverty in terms of the precarious non-poor rather than a paying attention to how to attain/secure prosperity. Within the African context interesting work has been done in Uganda with a focus on entrepreneurs in Kampala with the focus again being rather on a vulnerability to poverty than securing prosperity (Camfield & Monteith, 2018).

In terms of talking specifically about precarious prosperity or then the precarious non-poor (as noted the choice between the two is often dependent on the context and focus of the research) there have been earlier ideas that show a strong overlap and inspiration to precarity. In many cases it is also when poverty is considered with a concept that different ways of thinking emerge. Take for example the work of Mayer (1975) where he talks about the "lower middle class [as] a complex and unstable social, political, and cultural compound that deserves close and systematic analysis". He goes further and sets this class apart from the "landed aristocracy, the peasantry, the bourgeoisie, or the working class" (1975:409). Or if we shift our focus to vulnerability, which is of course one of the key concepts that lead to Budowski et al. (2010) definition of precarious prosperity. The next section will shift focus somewhat away from precarity and rather to the concepts that have had an influence on the concept or that share some overlap.

Some of the overlapping concepts include "vulnerability", "working poor", "transient poverty", "the missing middle" and "homelessness" (which is used in more affluent countries) that are often used as synonyms for the precarious non-poor. Although each of these concepts is used in a very specific way to talk about a group of people that are perhaps often ignored, especially in policy and decision making, they sometimes represent who the precarious non-poor are, sometimes have more in common with precarious prosperity or once again highlight how differing contexts impact on how we talk about the experience of poverty.

To illustrate this, I will highlight the key focus areas where factors overlap, and which set them apart from precariousness. Vulnerability is often related to specific moments that affect people's social and financial position. This is especially evident in the literature related to the impact that natural disasters have on people (see for example Blaikie et al., 2003; Pelling, 2003; Bankoff, Frerks & Hilhorst, 2004). Here "social vulnerability identifies sensitive populations that may be less likely to respond to, cope with, and recover from a natural disaster. Social vulnerability is complex and dynamic, changing over space and through time" (Cutter & Finch, 2008:2301). Social vulnerability is also used in terms of wars, displacement and everyday hardship (Uekusa & Matthewman, 2017). Work being done on risk is also important and how it relates to people being vulnerable to poverty (see Dercon, 2005 and

Échevin, 2013). However, sometimes the distinction between precariousness and vulnerability comes down to who the people are that favour the one term over the other (Europe versus America) and what they are writing about (Social sciences versus Economics). Within the South African context, much has been written about vulnerability (see for example Dercon 2005) and inequality (see for example Woolard 2002). However, the underlying assumption is still that our South African society is dualistic: the poor and the non-poor.

The concept of the "missing middle" mostly has an economic and/or geographic focus. In terms of an economic application, it refers to the body of work that focus on industry types, where the missing middle falls somewhere between large industries and corporations or small entrepreneurial businesses that usually relates to mid-sized firms (or the lack of) (see for example Spring, 2009 and Hsieh & Olken, 2014). This is based on the countries' economic growth while contending with severe inequality and/or poverty. Thus, because of a lack of schooling, limited job opportunities or a lack of funding, medium-sized enterprises seem to be missing. The research usually also focus on developing countries such as Mexico or India (Krueger, 2013). Levy, Hirsch & Woolard (2014:26) focus on South Africa and note that the "'missing middle' of jobs in the 'middle range' of earnings is consistent with a familiar feature of South Africa's labour market". The authors also point out that a "missing middle" labour force has a shrinking and vulnerable middle class as a consequence, meaning that more of the middle class are then vulnerable to poverty.

In terms of a geographical focus, it often links to an economic understanding, since it focuses on the missing middle between "those employed in agriculture and those living in mega-cities" (Christiaensen & Todo, 2014:44). Within this literature, there is a strong focus on urbanisation that relates to the concept of the missing middle to track how and when people make a move to a more urban environment. The idea is that the move is not always from a very rural setting to an urban one, but rather a gradual one where people navigate semi-urban spaces or smaller secondary towns. Another conception which relates to the missing middle is that it relates specifically to the urban poor, who are ignored in many instances in developing countries such as for example India since the policy interventions focus on the extreme poor who are traditionally thought to be found in a more rural space (Bhat, Holtz & Avila, 2018). It also links to how urban and specifically urbanisation is understood and defined

and the impact it has on specific issues such as employment for example, but also in terms of overall well-being (Krueger, 2013).

Another conceptual use of the term the 'missing middle' that strongly overlaps with the idea of the precarious non-poor is when it is used in reference to those falling between targeted social assistance and formal social security (Fischer 2018). This means that there are people who are not able to gain any additional resources or security from either of the interventions and thus end up with nothing. This is important to consider especially in the context of social policy since targeted policies will exclude individuals and a universal approach might not be enough to make a measurable difference.

Perhaps the work with the most overlap with the precarious non-poor in terms of the missing middle is that which focus on class highlighting working-class families and the idea that the middle class is not homogeneous. Skocpol (2000:23) highlights working families that are not comfortably middle class, but who are "the people who put in long hours to earn a living and make a decent life while coping with rising pressures in their workplaces while trying to raise children in solo-parent or dual-worker families". What is interesting in Skocpol's (2000) work is that she also notes the lack of policy related to this group: there is a focus on tax cuts for the rich or interventions and handouts to the poor, but yet the 'average' working men and women are ignored. Overall, information about this category of people, that struggle to remain in the middle or work tirelessly to become working professionals, is scarce.

Conceptually, thus we must pay attention to the category of when prosperity becomes secure, or in other words, when one's position is not precarious anymore. This can be best described in terms of class and more specifically, of what is known as the middle class. In many instances in the literature, it can seem that once individuals have moved out of poverty, then they are considered as being part of the middle class. However, this is not the case as is evident from other class classifications used, such as "working class", "underclass" or "marginalised". In addition, as Lopez-Calva & Ortiz-Juarez (2014) note, the definition of what is middle class is not clear, and neither is the group contained within these definitional boundaries homogenous. This is echoed by Burger et al. (2014) who note the contradictory and often arbitrary ways in which being middle class is defined.

There have been attempts to define what it means to be middle class in terms of concrete thresholds as well and this links to some of the work related to the missing middle. Banerjee & Duflo (2008) define the middle class as people living with a per capita expenditure of $2–$10 a day, while Ravallion (2010) suggests thresholds ranging from $2-$13 a day (2005 PPP). It is important to note that in both instances the lower bound threshold of $2 is related to the median poverty line of 70 developing countries, while the upper bound threshold of $13 corresponds with the poverty line in the United States of America (Banerjee & Duflo, 2008). Birdsall (2010) steers away from such a low minimum and suggested a minimum of $10 per day (PPP 2005). She argues that just moving above the $2 a day mark does not signify being middle class. In fact, "in most middle-income developing countries, even $3 a day is not enough to be economically secure" (Birdsall, 2010:5). Indeed, Milanovic & Yitzhaki (2002)note that in terms of OECD countries, that have a much higher absolute poverty line to start with, the middle class would be defined in income terms between $12 and $50, which represent the mean incomes of Brazil and Italy (PPP 2000). In applying the measures in the various studies mentioned here, the middle class is often missing with the poor category representing those who are extremely poor as well as those struggling to find prosperity (Milanovic & Yitzhaki, 2002). Birdsall (2010:6) notes that although all these measures are "ad hoc" and arbitrary, it is the best we have. "Behind this ad hoc number is the idea that somewhere around $10 a day per person, household members are able to care about and save for the future and to have aspirations for a better life for themselves as well as their children – because they feel reasonably secure economically".

Poverty measurements are related to context, and this is true in terms of what it means to be middle class as well. For example, are we looking at a developing or developed country, or are we looking at people who are generally considered middle class, or only at a specific moment related to a specific characteristic such as education? According to UNHabitat (2014), "the African middle class has been broadly defined as those living on between $2 and $20 per day". However, the programme also notes that in reality, the vast majority of people considered the middle class in Africa rather survive on between $2 and $4 per day. The optimistic first definition used by UNHabitat, usually pops up first especially in policy and in relation to Africa, since the assumption is "that the middle class(es) are a positive ingredient

for the development of and in African societies"(Melber, 2016). However, there is little evidence to support this claim since there is neither economic growth, social stability currently or any indication that it will happen in the future (Handley, 2015).

This middle class category is also often cited as the "floating class" and is characterised by high levels of vulnerability (UNHabitat, 2014). However, in the South African context, and when using the latest rebased poverty lines available through StatsSA, people living within this category will still be considered poor as they fall between the FPL and the UBPL. Thus, even though "the floating class" might align with precarity in Africa in general, within South Africa, one can only refer to being poor and perhaps middle class beyond the $5-a-day cut-off. Ravallion (2010) notes that, in the developing world, being middle class might still mean falling under the poverty line of some more developed countries, which is also true in the context of South Africa.

Leibbrandt, Ranchhod & Green (2018:1) also highlight the middle class as a more precarious than prosperous category within the South African context and conclude that a "significant proportion of the current middle class is vulnerable to falling into poverty" because of persisting inequality. It should be noted that although here the idea of the missing middle is related to class, there is still a differentiation made in terms of income. Recently in South Africa, there has been a policy shift that seems to try and include the missing middle. The Department of Trade and Industry (dti) recently published revisions to the *B-BBEE Codes of Good Practice* (2019) that included weighted points allocated to companies' spending money on bursaries that specifically target black[4] students. This means that the students, who would be from a working-class background, that do not qualify for the government's free education initiative can still access higher education. Not only does this shift in policy indicate an awareness of the missing middle in South Africa, but it also points to the fact that class is still very much associated with race (Burger et al., 2014).

So far, the concepts mentioned that overlap with precariousness or share some correlation, try to steer away from a binary classification of society in terms of the poor and the non-poor or the haves and the have nots. Another aspect of precariousness that is important is the temporal reality of poverty. In broad strokes, it means that people are not always poor, but

[4] Here the racial category 'black' is used to include African and Coloured South Africans.

rather sometimes poor. Poverty is much more dynamic with people moving in and out of poverty sometimes within the same day or week. Transient poverty overlaps here in some ways with precariousness, and the observed poverty is usually a temporary state. “This type of poverty stems from the vulnerability of people to a drop in their living standards; non-poor people at normal times might suddenly fall into poverty, or people living not much below the poverty line might suddenly fall into extreme poverty” (Jalan & Ravallion, 2000:82). The research around the transient poor focus mostly on factors that would make them vulnerable to falling into poverty such as shocks (linked to health and disasters), insecure employment and a lack of education (Bayudan-Dacuycuy & Anthony, 2013). Still, this category is seen in relation to chronic poverty and thus, poverty overall. Thus, the focus is on keeping people out of poverty and not helping them become more secure beyond poverty.

Another concept that overlaps with precarity is the “working poor”. These are the people that “toil year-round and either fall to pull above the poverty line or struggle to make ends meet just above it” (Newman, 2000:xi). What a focus on the working poor shows us, is that even with a minimum level of income, people are still poor or in the very least struggling to make ends meet. Especially since unemployment is often cited as a determining factor in terms of poverty, a focus on the working poor shows that being employed will not necessarily lift someone out of poverty (Andress & Lohmann, 2008). A good work ethic and determination will also not guarantee a passage out of poverty even if you have a job. The working poor share in the normative values associated with being middle class in terms of employment, yet the related security and certainty that the middle class have in terms of their jobs remains elusive (Newman, 2000: 297). In fact, the jobs of the working poor keep people in poverty because of low wages and little hope of advancement (Desmond & Gershenson, 2016) . Also, other determining factors such as the level of education, race and gender usually associated with poverty still persist in terms of who the working poor is (Newman, 2000).

A focus on the working poor also highlights many of the flaws in policy related to poverty and questions whether poverty interventions really work especially in terms of an overall improvement in quality of life. “[P]overty has remained a persistent structural condition during this period; declines in the so-called welfare poor have been offset by increases in the working poor” (Thiede, Lichter & Slack, 2018:185). The working poor “are subjected to many

of the same forces that the nonworking poor must contend with: decaying housing, poor diet, lack of medical attention, lousy school, and persistent insecurity"(Newman, 2000:xv). What a working poor focus further illuminates is the problem with poverty definitions and measures since it shows us that someone who is employed can still be struggling not only because of low wages or a menial job, but because of, for example, the burdens of family and loved ones. Thus, although many monetary and multidimensional approaches focus on an individual, the social context and how people live and survive together is missed.

Most of the work related to the working poor is from the United States and Europe and it is difficult to compare these findings with a country like South Africa since we have a lower poverty line, lower minimum wage and much higher rates of unemployment. Within South African literature, the aim is to understand and describe in-work poverty (Lilenstein, Woolard & Leibbrandt, 2016). The focus has been on linking the South African phenomenon to the global in-work poverty discourse and on identifying which types of workers or worker groups are most vulnerable to poverty.

As noted above, there are many concepts that seem to overlap with the precarious non-poor, yet either the concepts have a strong poverty focus and have been operationalised to focus specifically on poverty such as in the case of the 'working poor' or they only focus on a very small part of the population such as in the case of the 'missing middle'. When talking and thinking through this new category of the precarious non-poor it is important to distinguish what I am trying to say from existing literature. Thus, to be precariously non-poor does not mean that you are necessarily employed and similarly it also does not mean that the precariously non-poor are being ignored or forgotten about within for example social security. By adding the category of the precariously non-poor, I am able to highlight the issues related to looking at the poor and the non-poor in terms of an income only approach while that the same time addressing other factors that also impact on wellbeing such as for example health and education.

The many concepts related to and overlapping with precarity and the concept of the precarious prosperity emphasise a need within research and our understanding of the experience of poverty to move beyond the poor and the non-poor. Still, one of the questions

that remain unanswered is why the work and research on the precarious non-poor or then precarious prosperity still relatively little or why it is only garnering interest now. As I have highlighted, some of it is due to a lack of interest or concern in terms of policy and political agendas. In a way, it is better to stick with what you know, and that is to see society as either poor or not poor. Another aspect that is closely linked with this is the idea of a preferred, usual or then normal pathway out of poverty, and the precarious non-poor to a certain extent are the ant-thesis of this idea. Roberts (2011) highlights this notion in terms of interventions aimed at empowering youth groups in the UK that focus specifically on employment and the lack of knowledge, understanding and intervention with transitioning between unemployed and employed. He notes that what is also striking is that the youth that do not follow the prescribed path set out through policy and government are ignored or seen as failures. Indeed, this is also true for the precarious non-poor since their lack of security after moving out or beyond poverty is their failure, since policy and research clearly dictate that not being poor is much better than being poor (even if just marginally so). Also, the precarious non-poor are justifiably ignored because they are failures within a working system, or they are simply ignored because their existence contradicts the simplistic dual view of society (poor and not-poor).

2.10 Conclusion

It is not enough to just identify and to talk about "who" are the poor and the non-poor and "why" but instead we must be aware of how we talk about the poor and the non-poor. "While there is much discussion of why we measure poverty, there is relatively little discussion of whom poverty measurement is for" (Wisor 2012:8). Following Foucault (1998), we have to be aware of how our own subjectivity, whether personal or as a researcher, affects the production of knowledge and power. Likewise, Bourdieu (1977) cautions us against our own common sense and advises that we should be wary of naturalising people's past positions in a society that makes them into structures for acting and decoding the world (Bourdieu, 1977). Being poor does not make you an expert on poverty, nor is it safe to assume or accept that poverty is a normal state or part of life (i.e. some people are meant to be poor since that is

how life works). “To institute, in this case, is to consecrate, that is, to sanction and sanctify a particular state of things, an established order” (Bourdieu, 1991:119).

I am not as sceptical as Adams (2002) whom I cited in the introduction and who states that “[t]he idea of poverty has been so obfuscated such that we can’t agree what it means any more or how to measure it or who is responsible for tackling it. Which, of course, means no one can be held accountable” (2002:89). Rather, I believe that we can and must use the approaches that are available to us and build on the body of knowledge already established. I hope that focusing on the precarious non-poor will add to the theory around poverty measures and elaborate on what we know about poverty. More importantly, I hope to show that those people just above the poverty line struggle to survive, with prosperity out of reach and poverty a more likely reality. The precarious non-poor are not just vulnerable, missing or not yet successfully middle class. Their experience, especially within the South Africa context, is unique and offers many insights into creating a just and equal society.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The literature review chapter highlighted some of the important work related to the theory and measurement of poverty as a background to our understanding of the precarious non-poor. It also highlighted the flaws and shortcomings associated with our current understanding of poverty. Still, these are the tools that we have at our disposal, and in order to link this research to a broader body of work, it is important to use what we have. This chapter will outline the theoretical framework used throughout the research.

Before continuing on to the specifics of the precarious cut-off and why it was important in terms of the study overall, it is necessary to address why I am using money (or then income) metric measures in relation to a poverty line, especially when keeping in mind the limitations that I set out in the literature review, since this can feel like a contradiction. However, that is exactly the point, since one of biggest limitations of the monetary approach is that it is not objective (although the contrary is more often assumed), but by being aware of this I can highlight the subjective nature of the data and related findings. It does not make the research less valuable but rather adds to our understanding of the precarious non-poor, but also in terms of poverty. Furthermore, a lack of money (or then income) remains a reality associated with poverty and the associated "measures do remain as one valuable means to aggregate within one important dimension of poverty, among a range of other imperfect options, and aggregation is also a problem with other approaches" (Fischer, 2018:104). It would be naïve not to connect this study with the broad collection of income poverty research available. Through adding another income category, I try to address some of the binary complications of traditional poverty line cut-offs while still staying true to the rigour of statistical analysis. By concentration on a specific income category, it is also possible to link the quantitative phase tot the qualitative phase of the research study and provide continuity.

What the literature review also highlighted is that most of the measures in relation to poverty are flawed in some way. By using a mixed-method approach, thus two different measures, I also hope that the shortcomings of the one method will be complimented by the strengths of the other (and vice a versa). On a more general and perhaps philosophical point, I would argue that this is not an isolated problem that is only related to money metric measures, but rather

an issue that hangs over the social sciences overall because the subjects under scrutiny often do not act as they 'should' and are human.

3.2 A precarious cut-off

The problem of the precarious non-poor warranted that both the theory and the method had to relate to the background on a national basis, as well as focusing on the specifics and details of their daily lived reality. This is possible to achieve with a mixed method that is guided by two poverty approaches. The quantitative section not only gives us some idea of the problem of the precariously non-poor in South Africa overall, but it also links this study to other income-focused research.

According to (Ravallion, 2016), poverty lines play a role in poverty research, firstly in a descriptive sense, since the use of poverty lines enable us to make poverty comparisons over time and space, and secondly, in a normative sense to formulate anti-poverty policies. Therefore, it was important that the precarious non-poor definition must link to the current work around poverty (which is linked to the dominant binary definition of poverty) while also expanding on the work related to precarious prosperity. In both instances the focus is on money (income) as an indicator.

There have been attempts to move beyond the binary of the poor and non-poor as a result of using a poverty line such as found in the literature in terms of what it means to be middle-class within the developing world where the cut-offs are either noted to be between $2-$20 per day or in extreme cases such as Africa between $2-$4 per day (UNHabitat, 2014). This is still not helpful in the context of this study since the precarious non-poor are not middle-class. Also, this categorisation is related to the UN and World Bank poverty line and to developed countries. Thus, there needs to be some alternative to reference the global poverty cut-off still but be locally relevant.

Precarious prosperity is "operationally defined as having an equivalised household income above a given lower (poverty) threshold yet with more than a defined number of deprivations, or having income below a given upper (prosperity) threshold and having less than a defined number of deprivations" (Budowski & Schief, 2011:346). The operationalisation of precarious

prosperity is linked to its definition and is often dependent on the context in which the research takes place. Thus, in developed and richer countries, the focus is on falling below a certain median income (the upper threshold) where in developing and poorer countries the focus is on being above the poverty threshold (the lower threshold). In terms of the upper threshold, it is usually set between 60% to 100% below the median income (the percentage amount differs according the country that the research is conducted[5]). The lower threshold is usually set in relation to the poverty line in use in the country.

Outside of precarious prosperity, interesting work has been done by Duncan et al. (2010) and Duncan et al. (1998) regarding childhood development and poverty in the United States of America by relating specific health and welfare issues to income. In both instances and to do this effectively, they had to relate income categories to the national poverty line used in the United States where someone is either living below the poverty line (poor), between the poverty line and the twice poverty line (non-poor). In other words, living between the poverty line and twice the poverty line is used to describe those people who are just above the poverty line, but still below secure prosperity or not yet secure non-poor.

This is similar to the measure used by DeNavas-Walt et al. (2011) in their assessment of income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States. In order to analyse the depth of poverty, they note that it is important to categorise people as "in poverty" and "not in poverty", and that an income-to-poverty ratio measures the depth of poverty. I also argue that it shows how far someone is from securing prosperity. "The income-to-poverty ratio is reported as a percentage that compares a family's or an unrelated person's income with their appropriate poverty threshold" (DeNavas-Walt et al. 2011:19) Although referred to as a percentage, it is clear that a 200 per cent income deficit in relation to the national poverty line is similar to surviving on an income that is computed as twice the poverty line.

Within the African context, this measure is also used in Uganda where "the non-poor households are divided into two groups – insecure non-poor and the middle-class – based on whether their consumption is higher or lower than twice the poverty line" (Ministry of Finance

[5]Switzerland (Tillmann & Budowski, 2004; Tillmann, Maurizia Masia & Budowski, 2016) Costa Rica, Chile (Budowski & Schief, 2011) and Romania (Precupetu et al., 2015)

Planning and Economic Development of the Government of Uganda 2014:6). Thus, those people living below twice the poverty line but above the poverty line are termed insecure non-poor as "they are not living in absolute poverty but are poor relative to the middle-class – and they are vulnerable to falling back into poverty" (2014:6). The focus here is on people vulnerable to poverty (thus the focus is more on the lower threshold). Although the focus is on the lower threshold, thus between the poor and the insecure non-poor, there is also reference made to the secure non-poor as the middle class. Thus, beyond precarity one is securely middle class.

I propose to use similar logic in setting the cut-offs to measure the category of the precarious non-poor in South Africa. During the quantitative analysis, for someone to be considered non-poor but still in a precarious position financially, I will use the range between R779 and R1558 per person per month (where R779 is related to StatsSA's UBPL (PPP 2011) and with R1558 being double the UBPL amount). It should be noted that this is not the latest rebased UBPL in use in South Africa but rather relates specifically to the GHS and IES's latest datasets from 2011 (See Table 3 below). In contrast, the qualitative part of the study's fieldwork and interviews were mostly completed during 2016 and 2017, and the poverty line and related cut-offs were then rebased accordingly (See Table 3 below). The cut-off not only had to be applicable to one period but over multiple periods to ensure that it is relevant across the quantitative and qualitative sections of the study. The cut-off also had to be appropriate and useful within the South African context, while the choice also had to resonate with other work that was globally done around precarity so that I would be able to compare and share the results with a larger audience that works within poverty analysis and an absolute poverty line.

The ranges related to the FPL and the LBPL are not used since the LBPL is not useful to accurately reflect well-being and the FPL is only useful in cases of extreme poverty (Budlender, Leibbrandt & Woolard, 2015). It should also be noted that these ranges are based on a monthly income per person where the total income of the household is calculated and then divided by the number of people in the household. This means that income includes a wide range of proceeds, for example, salaries, wages, income from letting a property, social welfare grants, etc.

	FPL	LBPL	UBPL	Precarious non-poor category
Rand amount per person per month (2011)	335	501	779	R779-1558
Rand amount per person per month (2016)	498	714	1077	R1077-2154
Rand amount per person per month (2017)	531	758	1138	R1138-2276
Rand amount per person per month (2019)	561	810	1227	R1227-2454

Table 3: UBPL from StatsSA (2019) National Poverty Lines, Pretoria: Statistics South Africa http://www.statssa.gov.za with author's own precarious non-poor category added

For comparison purposes, it is interesting to note that the World Bank $1.90 per day poverty cut-off relates to about R835 per month (PPP 2019) within South Africa. It is also interesting to note that the average minimum wage set out in 2019 in South Africa was 20 Rands/per hour which roughly translates into about R3900 per month. There are however exceptions to the minimum wage rate for certain employment categories and therefore in many instances this would translate to an even lower monthly amount such as for example domestic worker wages (where minimum wage is set closer to R15 per hour) which would be closer to R3000 per month. It should also be noted that in terms of the Child Support Grant the cut-off for eligibility is R4300 per month for the parent or primary caregiver of the child.

I hope that through using an added category in terms of an income focus, it will show not only the problems with an absolute poverty line but also that it is possible to, within a quantitative analysis highlight a more nuanced discussion around the precarious non-poor and then ultimately poverty. In short, there is no better way to be critical or to add value than from within a theory or measure. Promoting to scrap an income-only approach entirely does not solve any problems and means that valuable work is lost. Moreover, poverty research will not in the foreseeable future move away from an income focus. It is too entrenched in our society as the norm to understand poverty.

3.3 The capability approach

As noted during the literature review, I will use Amartya Sen's capability approach to unpack the qualitative findings. One of the key attributes of this approach is that it moves beyond only looking at people's resources, income or utilities. Therefore, although the quantitative section paints a picture of the precarious non-poor in South Africa that are specifically linked

to their income, it does not tell us what options these people have and whether they are secure beyond poverty or perhaps just slowly sliding into poverty. Although it moves beyond the binary of the poor and the non-poor, it still does not tell us what sets apart the precarious non-poor from the poor or why they are not able to secure prosperity. What the capability approach enables us to do is to discover what these people themselves find important in their daily lives that ensure their day-to-day survival. I would even go as far as to say that their income or resources might indicate that they are non-poor, whereas the capability approach shows us is that they are no different from people described as poor in many ways, and only earn a little bit more here and there. Thus, their choices, options and opportunities are often the same as the poor.

The capability approach is an attractive alternative to measuring prosperity or well-being, and there is a broad spectrum of literature dedicated to it. Moreover, the capability approach is essentially open-ended, which is in line with Sen's description. In other words, there is little room built-in, on purpose, to reflect the freedom and agency that is central to the approach. It is thus possible to reflect the freedom to choose what is important and to be able to make that choice freely. Alkire (2002:25) refers to this space that favours the liberty of choice by pointing out that "Sen deliberately left the capability approach 'incomplete' in order to ensure its relevance to persons and cultures with different understandings of the good". Otto et al. (2015:112) note that "[i]t is largely acknowledged by capability scholars themselves that the operationalisation of the capability approach is a demanding task, posing several conceptual, methodological and empirical challenges that are not easy to resolve". Otto et al. (2015:116) add that "despite its 'underspecified' nature, this framework plays a central role in the current debate on individual and societal well-being and despite the methodological difficulties" the contributions are significant, achievable and worth the effort. Robeyns (2017:36) points out that "the capability approach is an open approach and, depending on its purpose, can be developed into a range of capability theories or capabilitarian applications".

Robeyns (2017) suggests that we should take a modular approach when using the capability approach to create our own capability approach theory. Thus, the capability approach is applied within certain modules or theoretical silos and, within each of these units, there are choices to be made that usually correspond to the specific field or discipline. I agree with this

point to a certain extent, but I think that it is perhaps too prescriptive and not in keeping with what Sen envisioned with the capability approach. I agree with Robeyns (2017) that our background (for example, personal and academic), history and even geographic location affect how and why we do research, but I think that it is necessary to focus on the individuals or the institutions involved in the study and to try not to pre-empt the answers or force results in a specific direction.

Robeyns (2017) would be quick to point out that my critique is based on my sociological academic background and probably on the fact that I grew up in a third world country with a terrible past where people's voices were often not heard or where they were told how and what to think. Thus, I have already made theoretical and methodological decisions as to how I will interpret and use the capability approach. Moreover, I am already operating within a particular module of the capability approach (whether consciously aware or not). I do agree with Robeyns (2017) that we should be cognisant of the choices we make when using the capability approach and that it is these decisions and choices that ultimately change it into a theory that one can apply. A capability approach theory is both content and context-specific as it urges or forces a researcher to be reflexive. In fact, this built-in "choice" to reflect the individual or collective's interests is often already started by the researcher. Alkire (2002:3) makes a similar point and notes that it is important "[t]o clarify the identity and nature of the value judgements" when using the capability approach. For that reason, I will explain why and how I am going to use the capability approach. In other words, how I am going to operationalise the capability approach.

When looking at the precarious non-poor, the easiest port of call in relation to the capability approach is the work done on poverty and development. In fact, how Sen set out the capability approach and most of the earlier work done within the capability approach was in relation to poverty (1979; 1981). Sen's work has inspired and motivated a range of multidimensional poverty approaches including, for example, the basic needs approach that emerged as a critique of Sen's approach (Streeten 1981, 1984) and most recently, the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (Alkire et al., 2015). One of the key characteristics associated with the capability approach and poverty is the idea of a basic set of capabilities. A basic capability is ""the ability to satisfy certain elementary and crucially important functionings up to certain levels" (Sen 1992:45). This refers to people having the freedom of

the basic capabilities that are necessary to escape poverty or other types of serious deprivations. This does not imply the prioritising of certain living standards or conditions, "but … deciding on a cut-off point for the purpose of assessing poverty and deprivation" (Sen 1987:109). Basic capabilities are essential because they lead to the achievement of other capabilities. For example, there is a relationship between food security and education: it would be very difficult for a child to learn on an empty stomach. Although capabilities refer to opportunities, basic capabilities refer overall to one's actual opportunity to meet a basic quality of life or to avoid poverty.

In terms of applying the capability approach, the setting out of basic capabilities achieves two purposes: firstly there is a selection of capabilities that are focused on and, secondly, these capabilities are evaluated in terms of a minimum threshold that is necessary to overcome poverty or to improve one's quality of life to move beyond poverty (Robeyns, 2005). It is important at this point to note that the term 'basic capabilities' is not used consistently when applying the capability approach. It is mostly used within the context of poverty and development studies, but even here, there are inconsistencies. The most important alternative from what has been set out so far in terms of basic capabilities is the work by Nussbaum. She identifies "human capabilities" as "what people are actually able to do and be" (Nussbaum 2000:5). She identifies ten[6] "central capabilities" that "may not be infringed upon to pursue other types of social advantage" (Nussbaum 2000:14). These capabilities have the status of rights and must also be protected and maintained to a certain threshold. However, I would argue that most of the time, these basic capabilities and the central capabilities overlap rather than contradict each other. However, I will use the definition of basic capabilities as set out by Sen, and later in the qualitative findings, I will highlight the importance of perceiving capabilities as rights. In other words, I will focus on capabilities as the opportunities that someone has access to, versus functionings, which would be what they are able to achieve. In other words, it is up to the individual to take up or leave the opportunities they are presented according to how they want to live their own life (Fleurbaey, 2012).

[6] The ten central capabilities: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotion, practical reasoning, affiliation, other species, play and control over one's environment

3.4 Basic Capabilities

Keeping in mind Robeyn's (2017) advice to set out why and how we intend to use the capability approach, it is important to highlight that the method I used strongly influenced how I planned to apply the capability approach. I used qualitative semi-structured interviews, which involved the initial planning of the framework of the interview that focused on key issues resulting from the quantitative analysis described in the quantitative findings chapter (chapter 5). Moreover, many of the questions were inspired by the basic capabilities as understood through Sen's interpretation. However, more often than not, the interview veered in the direction that the respondent wanted, and thus we talked mostly about what they found to be relevant and important. What they talked about the most and passionately, overlapped with basic capabilities. Therefore, this qualitative chapter (chapter 6 and 7) will focus on these selected basic capabilities: education, employment and gender issues. The respondents also mentioned food security and housing. Underlying these issues and concepts was a strong emphasis on security (or then the lack thereof).

Adopting a basic capability approach that focusses on people's lives in terms of the basics may receive some criticism since this is in contrast to the perception of the approach that refers to the overall quality of life. However, in the context of this study, the "basics" are not a given or taken for granted as they are found in settings that are more affluent. In fact, I think that since the respondents highlighted the "basics" as important gives more credence to this line of thinking and the necessity of an understanding of basic capabilities, especially when working with people in precarious positions. "Note that the capability approach is not a theory that can explain poverty, inequality or well-being; instead, it rather provides a tool and a framework within which to conceptualize and evaluate these phenomena" (Robeyns 2005b: 94). The capability approach will help to describe the precarious non-poor and highlight who they are and how they survive from day to day.

3.5 The capability approach applied in South Africa

As noted in the literature review, there has been an increase in research related to human well-being and development overall, but also especially in the social sciences. One area that has received much interest is the capability approach. I have set out how I am going to operationalise the capability approach for this research study, but it is also necessary to highlight other work done in this regard within South Africa.

Overall, the capability approach can be operationalised over many different context such as for example poverty, housing, education, disability or with a focus on children (Clark, Biggeri & Frediani, 2019). The capability approach has also been applied in the South Africa context with a focus on poverty. In terms of a quantitative focus, most notable work is by Klasen (1997, 2000) Clark (2003, 2009) and Qizilbash & Clark (2005). Klasen (2000) applies the capability approach by using various indices as proxies that overall make up a measure of deprivation. Each of the indices are related to a capability. The indices are based on the SALDRU's Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (1993). Qizilbash & Clark (2005) combine fuzzy poverty measures and the capability approach and although they are critical of some of the work of Klasen (2000), they still make a strong case for the relevance of the capability approach in poverty studies. Clark (2002) also developed a survey instrument with a focus on perceptions of wellbeing among the urban and rural poor within South Africa. "He found that the most frequently mentioned aspects of a good life in South Africa were jobs, housing, education, income, family and friends, religion, health, food, good clothes, recreations and relaxation, safety and economic security" (Clark, 2005:8). I would take his argument a step further and point out that the capabilities that he found to arise most frequently overlap with the set of basic capabilities set out. Clark also makes the point that people share an ideal or the idea of a 'common good' which overlaps with the idea of good quality of life often raised by Sen, Nussbaum and other capability approach scholars.

The capability approach is also used to focus on other issues other than poverty in South Africa, although it is difficult for the analysis and findings not to include some kind of reference to poverty. Unterhalter (2003, 2009a) uses the capability approach to highlight issues related to equity and gender in relation to education and education access although

often it is more of a theoretical reflection than applying the approach. This is similar to what Walker et al. (2009) try to achieve by building out the theory in terms of professional capabilities to reduce poverty and then suggesting operationalisation in terms of transformation dimensions. McLean & Walker (2012) also focus on education but emphasise professional education by using the capability approach. Wilson-Strydom (2015) uses the capability approach to draw attention to access to higher education in South Africa. It is also worth noting the work of Graham, Moodley & Selipsky (2013) focus on the relationship between poverty and disability based on research done in eight of the poorest wards in Johannesburg, South Africa. Through using the capability approach they show that poverty and disability compound one another, thus limiting people's capabilities.

3.6 Conclusion

One of the key strengths of the capability approach as a framework is that it is flexible, and this permits researchers the opportunity to develop and utilise it in many different ways. Furthermore, the capability approach prioritises the voice of people once again and thus becoming the most important part of the research while at the same time respecting the fact that people are also very different and therefore their wants and needs will differ. In a way, the choice of the capability approach in this research study balances the necessary focus on income (or then money). Although, as stated previously, money metric measures still have an important role to play in social research, and I hope that this research study will show this.

Historically and justifiably the focus has been on poverty and the development of the poor, which should be our main concern. This focus as well as the dominant binary narrative related to poverty will remain influential in future research and it is no different in this research study. However, the onus is on us, as researchers, to use the tools that we have available since it is not always viable to spend time trying to reinvent the wheel especially if people keep on suffering in the meantime. Therefore, this research will emphasise the poor that have been uplifted out of poverty, which mainly includes the precarious non-poor. It will also question whether an individual who has been moved beyond the poverty threshold is indeed non-poor.

Ultimately, I hope to show that a focus on the precarious non-poor sheds light on how poverty and those just beyond poverty should be addressed in the policy.

CHAPTER 4: MIXED METHOD

4.1 Introduction

The methodology chapter follows logically after the research questions and objectives since the method employed is the means to answer the questions and achieve the objectives. The questions that frame this study relate to the macro and micro dimensions of the problem being analysed. Similarly, the objectives require an identification and description of the problem at hand. In other words, I am defining a specific group in South Africa, and I want information related to them on a national level and at the same time to create some picture of what this group would look like in terms of key socio-economic characteristics. However, it is also important to find out how these people themselves experience their condition and how they would describe their own position especially since this is a new concept to employ in the South African context specifically the precarious non-poor.

In deciding what the research method(s) to use, it became clear that because there are essentially two parts to the study, there had to be two methods to address each part. Firstly, in terms of finding out the scale and the socio-economic characteristics of the people defined as precarious non-poor, the analysis of secondary data on a national level would be best. Secondly, to understand and best describe the experience of surviving as someone who is precariously non-poor, in-depth interviews would give valuable insight. It became clear that there would have to be a quantitative and qualitative collection and analyses of the data to answer the research questions and to achieve the research objectives of the study then ultimately.

I decided to use a mixed method approach to incorporate both a quantitative and qualitative section to the research. More specifically, a mixed-methods sequential explanatory design was used. As it implies, it consisted of first collecting and analysing quantitative and then collecting and analysing qualitative data in two consecutive phases within the same study (Ivankova et al. 2006).

4.2 Background

Mixed method research design can be classified as a 'new' methodology only originating in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Creswell, 2014). It is grounded in diverse fields of study including evaluation, education, management, sociology and even the health sciences. The Handbook of Mixed Methods in the Social and Behavior Sciences (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2010), provide the most thorough summary of the methodology and guidelines for its implication. There are also many journals dedicated to mixed method research such as the Journal of Mixed Methods Research, Quality and Quantity, Field Methods, and the International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches while others also support mixed methods as a methodology (e.g. International Journal of Social Research Methodology and Qualitative Health Research). The literature devoted to mixed methods research is growing substantially, and each year new books are published (see for example Creswell 2012, 2015, Greene 2007, Hesse-Biber 2010, 2015 and Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009 among others)

According to Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003), there are more than forty mixed-methods research designs that have been reported in the literature. In turn, Creswell (2003) identified the six most popular mixed method designs that include three where the qualitative and quantitative stages run concurrent and three where they are sequential. One of these designs is then mixed methods sequential explanatory design. This is a popular research design and is broadly used in the social and behavioural sciences (see for example Morse 1991, Ames et al. 2009, Hayati et al. 2006, Bishop et al. 2012)

Using a mixed-method research design has a few benefits that strengthen not only the study's design but then also, ultimately, the results. Indeed, as Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003) and Creswell (2005) note, through integrating both quantitative and qualitative data within my study, I gained a better understanding of my research problem. Also, on their own, the results of either a quantitative or the qualitative inquiry are less rich and do not accurately capture the problem of the precariously non-poor in South Africa. It is when quantitative and qualitative methods are used to complement each other that they "allow for a more robust analysis, taking advantage of the strengths of each" (Ivankova et al. 2006:3, see also Creswell 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003).

Mixed methods sequential explanatory design is not without its pitfalls though and often tricky to implement even when the procedural steps set out for conducting mixed methods sequential design is followed (Creswell 2014 & Creswell 2012). In order to circumvent some of the problems that can result in using mixed methods sequential explanatory design, I followed Ivankova et al. (2006) in terms of their suggestions to address possible research design issues that "include the priority or weight given to the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in the study, the sequence of the data collection and analysis, and the stage/stages in the research process at which the quantitative and qualitative phases are connected and the results are integrated" (2006:4).

The mixed-method sequential explanatory design entails two separate research phases with the quantitative (numerical data) phase taking place before the qualitative phase (textual data usually based on interviews). Importantly, the second qualitative phase builds on and often contextualises the results from the quantitative phase. For my study, it was important to have a broad overview of the problem of the precarious no-poor in South Africa. In other words, a national picture emerged of the problem where some socio-economic characteristics linked to the precarious non-poor in South Africa could be highlighted. However, this is not enough since it is a new category that I am defining while at the same time also suggesting we embrace a new way of thinking about the poor and non-poor binary often used. The quantitative results were then verified, explained and even in some instances contradicted by the experiences and stories of people surviving in this category of the precarious non-poor during the qualitative phase of the research. Indeed, "[t]he rationale for this approach is that the quantitative data and their subsequent analysis provide a general understanding of the research problem. The qualitative data and their analysis refine and explain those statistical results by exploring participants' views in more depth"(Ivankova et al. 2006:5, see also Creswell 2014).

Another key decision made was in terms of the weight or then importance attributed to each of the research phases. To guide this decision, I returned to my research questions and found that the majority were answered with a qualitative research design compared to a quantitative design. However, the quantitative part of the study could not be excluded since it was necessary to gather background information to the problem. Also, it proved invaluable in informing the qualitative research phase, especially since some of the results from the

quantitative phase contradicted some of my initial assumptions. I had proposed to focus my study in two major urban centres, thus giving richness to the study. However, the quantitative data contradicted my assumption that people associated with the precarious non-poor category would mainly live in urban centres. Since the quantitative phase happened before the qualitative phase, I was able to shift my focus to include the major urban centre of Cape Town in the Western Cape and a more rural yet still urban town of Newcastle in KwaZulu Natal.

In short, I used a mixed method sequential explanatory research design. First, I conducted the quantitative phase that provided a background to the problem of the precarious non-poor as well as informed the qualitative phase. The main focus of the research though was on the qualitative phase of the design since it better answered most of the research questions. Some of the results from the quantitative phase of the research were included in the qualitative phase and impacted on how the data was collected. There is also a chapter in the thesis devoted to the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data congruently or as Archibald et al. (2015:20) note a "cross-comparison" where the statistics are compared to the self-reported experiences of the respondents.

Although the research questions and the research objectives guided the choice of the research design, I would be remiss in not adding that I personally feel that mixed methods research is an important methodology that links the divide between qualitative and quantitative research. I agree with the growing body of literature that calls for a re-examining of the strict qualitative/quantitative divide and that this "re-examining has foreseeably s*oftened* some of the claims previously made about research methodologies—for instance, in notions that the researcher can be *bracketed out* of the research process; claims related to absolute objectivity"(Archibald et al. 2015:18) or that it is simply not possible to reconcile statistics or numbers with qualitative data. Although it might seem like a simple choice of just choosing a relevant method, mixed methods as a research design and then more specifically, mixed methods sequential explanatory research design and the choice to use it, is also based on a specific research paradigm that is of the view that numbers and statistics can and should be incorporated into qualitative research (Maxwell, 2010). Indeed, as Carvallho & White (1997) note this is especially true in terms of research related to poverty, "because there are

limits to a purely quantitative approach as well as a purely qualitative approach to poverty measurement and analysis"(1997:3).

The next section will focus in detail on the two design phases.

4.3 Quantitative Phase

4.3.1 Data collection

I used the most recent Income and Expenditure Survey (2011) as well as the corresponding General Household Survey (2011) data sets (available through StatsSA) to analyse the precarious non-poor population of South Africa at a provincial and national level.

4.3.2 Datasets

Secondary datasets, meaning that the data is gathered and recorded by another researcher or institution, do have some inherent limitations. Firstly, the data is relative to the researcher and institution that recorded it in the first place. All assumptions or preconceived notion cannot be known that might have impacted how the data was gathered and then recorded. Secondly, the data and the related dimensions are weighted and aggregated, which builds in a margin of error (Fischer, 2018). Overall, survey data and unfortunately, the GHS and IES focus on a specific time and place, and it is sometimes tricky for the results to remain relevant over time. Still, for the purposes of this study, to give background to the problem of the precarious non-poor in South Africa, it remains important.

General Household Survey

The GHS has been conducted annually by Statistics South Africa since 2002 (StatsSA, 2011). The household survey is designed determine the level of development in the country and to gauge the performance of programmes and projects implemented on an ongoing basis (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). The GHS is designed to measure the living conditions of South African households as well as the effectiveness of service delivery in several essential service

areas. The GHS includes six broad areas: education, health and social development, housing, household access to services and facilities, food security, and agriculture.

Although there are more current GHS datasets and findings available, I wanted to compare the results of the GHS with the more specific IES and the 2010/2011 version of the IES is the latest available results at the time of conducting the quantitative analysis. Using two datasets, also gives further credibility to the findings since they can be compared which is especially useful given that the category of the precarious non-poor is a new area of analysis especially within the South African context.

The GHS applies a two-stage, stratified sample design based on a master sample (MS) from the 2007 national census sample (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). This a master sample (MS) is also used with the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS), GHS, Living Conditions Survey (LCS) and Domestic Tourism Survey (DTS). The IES also uses the same master sample and sampling procedure. The first step is to randomly choose primary sampling units (PSUs) from across South Africa. The PSUs are based on the enumeration areas (EAs) of the 2007 national census and consist of 100 to 500 dwelling units or then households. The dwelling units within each PSU are then stratified according to key socio-demographics and then using a randomised probability proportional to size (RPPS) a sample set of dwelling units is generated that matches the national census. Within these dwelling units or then households all members were covered across the nine provinces. The survey does not cover "collective living quarters such as student hostels, old age homes, hospitals, prisons and military barracks" (Statistics South Africa, 2011a:1). The survey was done in two phases with the first phase comprising an initial visit to each of the sampled households to inform them of the upcoming survey with the second phase and the actual survey taking place four weeks later. In total 25653 household were successfully interviewed which account for 93.4% of the sampled dwelling units.

The GHS also employs sample weights so that the data collected from the sample households can represent the South African population. The design weights, according to the inverse sampling rate (ISR), are allocated to every household in a province. The weights were adjusted in four instances namely the Informal PSUs, Growth PSUs, Sample Stabilisation and Non-

responding Units (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). Overall the survey weights used by StatsSA in the national household surveys are also adjusted design weights (Branson & Wittenberg, 2014). This is so that the data that is produced is representative across South Africa for the particular year that the survey is conducted. Their focus is less on whether the data is consistent over time.

Income and Expenditure Surveys

The most recent IES was conducted over a year between September 2010 to August 2011 and had the most overlap with the GHS conducted in 2011. The IES is also conducted by Statistics South Africa, and it aims to deliver important information about household consumption expenditure patterns that will inform the consumer price index (CPI) basket of goods and services (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). The IES collects the data over a four-week span and relies on three data collection instruments, namely a household questionnaire, a weekly diary and a summary questionnaire. "The sampling frame for the IES 2010/2011 was obtained from Statistics South Africa's Master Sample (MS) based on the 2001 Population Census enumeration areas (EAs)" (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). It follows the same procedure as set out in the GHS section above in terms of starting with the master sample based on the national census. What is also important to note is that the master sample represents a national coverage of all households in South Africa and it is designed in such a way that it covers all households living in a private dwelling or workers living in shared living quarters (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). Within the IES an extended sample of 3254 PSUs were selected (this was 3080 PSUs selected from the MS and 174 urban PSUs from the PSU frame). In total, 31419 dwelling units were sampled out of the 33420 households identified. The actual sample realisation was 27655 (83%) of households with the remaining households classified as out of scope due to listing errors, vacancy, etc. If there were multiple households living within a dwelling unit, all households were included in the results.

According to Statistics South Africa (2011b) there is overlap throughout the IES with other surveys such as the GHS and QLFS and the LCS. Still, the data collection methods used do differ such as how question are formulated for example. The results can be used in comparison, but one should be cognisant of the differences.

4.3.3 Data analysis

Each of the datasets were downloaded in SPSS and CSV formats from the Data First Open Source platform. Together with the datasets, PDF copies of the original questionnaire(s), report(s) and the metadata were also downloaded. Data cleaning was run on both datasets in order to isolate information on a per person level. Total household monthly income was divided by the number of individuals in the home.

The following demographic variables were isolated from the two datasets above and compared to income: gender, age group, population group, education, province, settlement type, social grants assistance and employment status. Crosstabulation tables and chi-squared analyses were used to investigate the relationship between the income categories (or then the poverty categories as used in this study) and the sociodemographic factors identified. Crosstabulation tables plot the frequencies of two variables in combination. Chi-squared analyses are used to determine the statistical significance of the relationship between two variables. Where the value is not significant, these two variables can be considered independent from one another. Where the value is significant, these two variables can be said to be related in some way or dependent on one another.

An important point to note at this time is also the choices that were made in terms of the data cleaning. In other words, which cases were included, and which were excluded. In both the GHS and the IES an overall household income was calculated and then divided by the number of persons living in the household. According to the GHS and the IES there are specific guidelines that set out who counts as living in the household at a specific time. Also, for this research is was important to include children and people that are not employed since not only do they make up a large proportion of the findings, but they often also represent the categories most vulnerable to poverty. I have already pointed out some of the flaws related to working with quantitative data and specifically in terms of working with secondary data. However, for the purposes of my research, I want to have some idea of the problem of the precarious non-poor (PNP) in South Africa and in terms of this, the quantitative data is invaluable. Although I have highlighted some of the flaws of working with poverty cut-offs in my literature review chapter (chapter 2), I have also shown that they have great value when

working with large data sets and such is the case of the data available through StatsSA and then specifically the IES and the GHS.

One of the important aspects of the quantitative phase was deciding on the income cut-off to use that would define the precarious non-poor. The cut-off(s) not only had to be relevant and useful within the South African context, but the choice had to resonate with other work done around precarity globally so that I would be able to compare and share the results with a larger audience.

For someone to be considered non-poor but still in a precarious position financially, I used the range between R779 and R1558 per person per month (where R779 is related to StatsSA's latest rebased UBPL (PPP 2011) and with R1558 being double the UBPL amount). These amounts are adjusted, keeping in mind inflation and when the surveys were completed. The income variable in each of the datasets was recoded to reflect the new income categories, namely, poor, precariously non-poor and then non-poor. Each of the datasets was downloaded in SPSS and CSV formats from the Data First Open Source platform. Key sociodemographic variables were identified, and it was checked whether there were any statistically significant variable relationships.

	FPL	LBPL	UBPL	Precarious non-poor category
Rand amount per person per month (2011)	R335	R501	R779	R779-R1558

Table 4: StatsSA (2019) National Poverty Lines, Pretoria: Statistics South Africa http://www.statssa.gov.za with precarious non-poor category added related to the quantitative phase of research

4.3.4 Data quality in South Africa

There is an awareness in South Africa of the data quality issues especially within the research community (Branson & Wittenberg, 2014). Indeed, "data quality and comparability" are cited by Bhorat & Kanbur (2006:1) as central issues in research within South Africa. Sample design issues and changes are also well documented in the within South African research and literature (see for example Keswell & Poswell, 2004; Posel, 2003; Casale, Muller & Posel, 2004; Wittenberg & Collinson, 2007). Although it is outside of the scope of this research study to comment and critique the sampling, methodology and results within the GHS and the IES, it

is still necessary to be cognisant of flaws within the datasets within the results presented. Another important point to raise in terms of the data quality is the issue of aggregation. In both the GHS and the IES the lowest level of aggregation for the data is province. In addition, the datasets in both instances also include four settlement types that gives further detail about the living conditions of the respondents. I do think though that for the purposes of this research study where the goal is to give background and to frame the problem of the precarious non-poor, the GHS and the IES remain invaluable.

4.4 Qualitative Phase

Twenty in-depth interviews were conducted in Cape Town (Western Cape) and twenty in Newcastle (KwaZulu Natal) over the course of six months from the end of July 2016 to the end of January 2017.

The selection of the two research sites namely a city and a town are due mainly to two reasons. The first being quite simply based on accessibility and cost. In both Cape Town and Newcastle, I had acquaintances that fostered the recruitment of respondents. I am also somewhat familiar with both Cape Town and Newcastle since I have lived in both and this meant that I was able to cover some of the research costs such as for example accommodation by staying with friends and family. It also meant that I was able to spend more time in both Newcastle and Cape Town which meant that I could in turn spend more time on the interviews with the respondents. The second reason that influenced the choice of including a city and a town in the research study was because I was unsure as to who the precarious non-poor were and where they would live. It is also important to note, which will be highlighted more in the findings' chapters, that in terms of the experience of precarity, the respondents had very similar responses whether living in a city or in a town.

4.4.1 Recruitment of participants

One of the most critical and challenging parts of the qualitative phase was the selection of respondents and the selection criteria. The preliminary results and the background picture that emerged from the quantitative phase proved invaluable in this regard. Key socio-

economic characteristics associated with precarious prosperity were identified and could be used in accordance with my defined income category verify eligibility to be part of the study. The key criteria remained income, so to make sure that the qualitative data could be compared and analysed with the quantitative data.

In accordance with the quantitative phase, the income range cut-offs were calculated according to the UBPL and twice its amount. However, the UBPL values are updated using the annually appropriate consumer price index (CPI) so that there would be some correlation between the data analysed form StatsSA mostly from 2010/2011 and the qualitative interviews that took place in 2016 and 2017.

	FPL	LBPL	UBPL	Precarious non-poor category
Rand amount per person per month (2016)	R498	R714	R1077	R1077-R2154
Rand amount per person per month (2017)	R531	R758	R1138	R1138-R2276

Table 5: StatsSA (2019) National Poverty Lines, Pretoria: Statistics South Africa http://www.statssa.gov.za with precarious non-poor category added related to the qualitative phase of research

The main selection criteria in terms of recruiting participants remained income, and before any interview would start, I would confirm that they fall into the precarious non-poor category as set out above. We spoke about income generally, who was employed in the household, what a weekly or monthly salary expectation was and how many dependents were reliant on the pooled income. I would, if I felt unsure about whether or not a respondent fit the criteria, pool the income amounts they set out and divide it by the number of persons in the household to make sure that they fell in the precarious non-poor category and sometimes this was only done after the interview. Mostly though I would ask, after having some sort of idea of who was part of the household, whether they had between R1077-R2154 per month (if I knew they were for example 4 people in the household, I would ask if they had between R4308-R8616 per month in total). I did, however, not ask them to verify their income in any manner. Neither did I ask them for a list of income sources or assets to check this myself. If the participants themselves felt that they fell within the category, after I had set out the income

category and explained that I am focusing on people living above the official South African poverty line but still struggling to survive, then I continued with the interview.

Still, there were moments during interviews that I felt that the respondents were probably more poor than precarious, but there were also moments that I felt that they were perhaps better off than precarious. This speaks more to the nature of poverty and to income as a measure of poverty, already highlighted in the literature review, than it does to whether the respondents actually fall within the category of the precarious non-poor. Poverty is often transient, and people might be scraping by, dipping into poverty or having some luck and finding some security either within the same month, week or even on the same day.

The focus in terms of recruiting respondents was their self-reported income and whether they thought they met the criteria as explained. Still, the quantitative phase brought to the fore key demographics that might be more closely associated with what it means to precariously non-poor such as race and sex, one of the main findings was the association with where someone lives - in other words, living in a rural/semi-urban versus urban area. This was not something that the research was initially designed to capture since I had proposed to focus on two parallel cities, namely Johannesburg and Cape Town. I felt strongly enough about the results from the quantitative phase of the research to amend my research and to rather focus on an urban area (Cape Town) and a semi-urban area (Newcastle) that also included some participants that although they work in an urban centre live in the rural surroundings of the town.

Keeping in mind the classification criteria related to income and some of the background demographics as well as that respondents should be eighteen years or older, I used purposeful sampling and more specifically snowball sampling as a strategy of purposeful sampling (Patton 1990 and 1999).

Generally, purposive sampling seeks “to maximise the depth and richness of the data to address the research question” in qualitative research (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). It is important to find the “right” participant rather than “many” wrong participants. Morse (1991) states that a “’good’ informant (i.e. one who is articulate, reflective, and willing to share with

the interviewer)" is the most appropriate when conducting qualitative research (Morse 1991:127). In order to do this, one must be familiar with the research problem and have the relevant knowledge to be able to identify a suitable participant. This is then also where the quantitative phase of the research was invaluable since it gave me further criteria and characteristics associated with the precarious non-poor such as for example the type of employment most often associated with this group. However, it is also important, at this point, to note that most weight is given in this thesis to the experiences of the people themselves and what they associate most with their precarious position. In other words, as the research progressed, so a picture emerged of what it means to survive in this precarious position. Also, if someone views their own position as precariously non-poor that is of more importance to this study than keeping to predefined criteria and cut-offs. As Emmel (2002) notes, "[q]ualitative researchers do not need to have worked out their theoretical position in the research. They make choices for pragmatic reasons, seeking out the richest information, the most appropriate comparisons within the resources available, and always with an eye on the audience for the research" (2002:35).

Snowball sampling is a purposeful sampling technique or then a strategy that "through the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other actors" (Lewis-Beck, Bryman & Liao, 2004). Although this is a technique traditionally used when access to deviant or socially isolated groups is needed in qualitative research, it is of relevance to this study because it is a new social category that is being investigated and not one that is often under scrutiny. The people that belong to the population of the precarious non-poor are most probably defined as such because they are hidden and unknown to society at large (for example, Coyne 1997 and Browne 2005). In other words, most often than not, when talking about poverty and day to day survival, people are either poor, or they are not. Browne (2005) makes a similar point and notes that snowballing is used when "specific individuals, groups or experiences which are not validated by society".

Snowball sampling entails picking cases that fit with the study, and that will produce findings that in turn will answer the research questions. According to Patton (1999) "rigour in case selection involves explicitly and thoughtfully picking cases that are congruent with the study purpose, and that will yield data on major study questions". A key informant or initial

participant is identified. Further participants are then recruited through shared social networks. The key informant or initial participant identifies another person(s) that they think would also be relevant to the study. These participants, in turn, also then identify more possible participants. “Snowball sampling is characterised by divergence and convergence” since many different types of respondents are potentially identified, but often also have a lot in common (Emmel 2002:40). In the end, the resultant sample is made up of carefully selected participants who often share some level of interpersonal relationship with someone else in the study.

The most difficult part of snowball sampling was contacting the first key informant/participant. I started talking to anyone and everyone telling them about my study and asking them if they knew anyone that would be a suitable respondent. I made contact with some of the domestic workers in my area and who in turn were either willing to contribute their time to the study or referred me to someone else. Once I had a handful of participants, it was easier to recruit more people to the study. I also found that once a respondent had completed their in-depth interview, they were more willing and able to suggest other people who would be suitable. This was because the respondents then had a clear idea of what the research was about and who would be suitable while at the same time understanding that it is not a test or difficult to do in any way. Therefore, they did not feel that by suggesting a friend or a neighbour that they would be wasting their time or putting them in an uncomfortable position.

This was also the key in building rapport with the respondents since there was some association already between us even if it was just based on my connection with the key informant that introduced us. I also tried to schedule the interviews in such a way so that the key informant was able to be there in person to introduce us in person. This often meant that there was some time spent together before the interview started formally that there was a shared conversation.

Many of my respondents ended up clustering in some way, such as for example living in the same neighbourhood as my initial contact person/respondent who then referred me to their friends and neighbours. In other instances, the respondents would be clustered around the

place where they work, suggesting other work colleagues rather than friends. It often also happened that the people were clustered around a shared institution such as a church. The respondents in the study are then all linked in some way to someone else in the study: they are friends, neighbours, work colleagues or share an institution such as a church.

There is a critical point to be made at this time with regards to qualitative research and purposeful sampling: as a researcher, you must make decisions in the moment even though it was not planned or theoretically set out in your proposal. Indeed, as Emmel (2002:35) notes "[p]ractical considerations win out over theoretical ones in considering the strategies of purposeful sampling". An example of this would be related to the fieldwork that I conducted in Delft, a suburb of Cape Town in the Western Cape. Through my initial queries and questions, I met someone living in Delft. She was a suitable participant to my study and in turn, became a key informant able to recruit other potential respondents. I had proposed to travel to people's houses in the evenings after work for their convenience and to walk around then and try to meet other possible respondents with them. My informant pointed out my wrong thinking and assumptions quite quickly. She said that it would be best not to bother people in the evenings since they are busy with family and enjoying some downtime and that it would be better for my own safety to not be out and about in the neighbourhood. In fact, she said that she and her own family mostly stayed indoors after dark. I was naïve in my assumptions about my research site and the people who stayed there. They face the reality of living in an area classified as one of the top five murder spots in the Western Cape and often rank in the top three in relation to other serious crimes (Crime Stats SA, 2017). I changed my plans and thinking and visited the people living in Delft (and Manenberg) on weekends. This might seem like a trivial example, but if I had not listened to my informant and for example visited her in the evening, she might not have been relaxed having me there or with my car outside her house attracting unwanted attention.

4.4.2 Interview procedures and data analysis

Once a suitable respondent was pointed out to me, I would acquire their contact details and arrange a suitable time and meeting place. As mentioned previously, I also tried were possible to have the informant that suggested the participant try to introduce us in person where

possible. In a certain sense, the interview process and data collection already start from the first contact. Indeed as Josselson (2007:495) notes, “from the moment of arranging to meet, through the interview or observation, through the transcription, through the analysis, the researcher's interpretation is omnipresent”.

The fieldwork and interviews were conducted between July of 2016 and January of 2017. I had to travel from Cape Town to Newcastle and thus the interviews there were usually clustered while the Cape Town interviews were more spread out.

Interview	Date	Place of Interview	Time of day
1	30-Jul-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Morning
2	31-Jul-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Morning
3	6-Aug-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Morning
4	6-Aug-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Afternoon
5	7-Aug-16	Delft, Cape Town	Morning
6	12-Aug-16	Sea Point, Cape Town	Lunch break
7	24-Aug-16	Monte Vista, Cape Town	Afternoon
8	13-Sep-16	Pinelands, Cape Town	Morning
9	13-Oct-16	Huttenheights, Newcastle	Morning
10	13-Oct-16	Huttenheights, Newcastle	Afternoon
11	14-Oct-16	Huttenheights, Newcastle	Morning
12	15-Oct-16	Aviary Hill, Newcastle	Early morning
13	17-Oct-16	Pioneer Park, Newcastle	Afternoon
14	17-Oct-16	Aviary Hill, Newcastle	Late afternoon
15	16-Nov-16	Arbor Park, Newcastle	Morning
16	16-Nov-16	Arbor Park, Newcastle	Late morning
17	16-Nov-16	Arbor Park, Newcastle	Afternoon
18	17-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Morning
19	17-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Afternoon
20	18-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Morning
21	18-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Lunch break
22	18-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Afternoon
23	19-Nov-16	Riverside Industrial, Newcastle	Morning
24	19-Nov-16	Riverside Industrial, Newcastle	Late morning
25	29-Nov-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Afternoon
26	30-Nov-16	Manenberg, Cape Town	Afternoon
27	30-Nov-16	Manenberg, Cape Town	Late afternoon
28	30-Nov-16	Manenberg, Cape Town	Late afternoon
29	12-Dec-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Afternoon
30	12-Dec-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Lunch break
31	13-Dec-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Afternoon
32	29-Nov-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Morning
33	7-Jan-17	Delft, Cape Town	Morning

34	7-Jan-17	Delft, Cape Town	Morning
35	13-Jan-17	Pioneer Park, Newcastle	Lunch break
36	13-Jan-17	Pioneer Park, Newcastle	Afternoon
37	14-Jan-17	Newcastle CBD, Newcastle	Morning
38	14-Jan-17	Newcastle CBD, Newcastle	Morning
39	26-Jan-17	Sea Point, Cape Town	Morning
40	27-Jan-17	Sea Point, Cape Town	Afternoon

Table 6: Interviews: Date, place and time

It did, in some cases, also happen where my initial respondent would act as a key informant and set up additional interviews on my behalf. Most of the time, the interviews would take place at the respondents' homes or at the home of a key informant. I found that this was often easier for people since it was less of an inconvenience for them and that this was helpful in setting up rapport. There were instances where people preferred to speak to me at their place of employment during a break. This was often more challenging because it placed a time constraint on the interview, and it was difficult to find a private place to chat.

Upon arriving at the arranged meeting place, I would then introduce myself and explain a little about my work and what I am doing. I would then check if they would still be willing to go further where we would then move to a (more) private space to chat. It is then that I would hand them the informed consent form (see appendix) in their preferred language for them to keep as well as point pout my contact details and that of the institution that I am affiliated with. I then would go through the form step by step, paying attention to what the study entails and that there should be no potential risks involved. I would also highlight the fact that they can/could withdraw at any time from the study even if some time has passed from when we have concluded the interview. One respondent was not able to read or write, but she assured me that her daughter would read the form to her and that she was still happy to continue. I also explained that I record the interviews since I do not take notes as it distracts from the flow of the interview but that I still need to be able to document the stories that they share with me in detail. I made clear that the interviews and the transcripts were only to be handled by myself and that when I do refer to any of what they share with me in the study that it will be under a pseudonym. Nobody refused to be recorded, and most respondents quickly forgot about the recorder.

On average, the interviews lasted for about an hour. Often though they lasted longer, especially when I visited the respondents at their homes, it is quite simply that people felt

more at ease in their homes and started to, through the course of the interview, see me more as a visitor they are having a chat with than a researcher.

During the interviews, I followed an interview guide (see appendix), but the structure was more semi-structured, and I allowed for the conversation to flow naturally. For example, if I asked someone where they were born, and they further elaborated about their family or their childhood years, I did not interrupt to follow the guide. I would let them tell their story and use the guide as an outline to guide the interview along rather than prescribe what was discussed.

Once an interview was concluded, I would then make notes in my research journal. This often happened in the car after the interview or as soon as I got home. These would include observations, field notes, additional questions I had as well as my own thoughts and feelings on the day and about the interview. I found this invaluable during the data analysis and while writing up the findings. Not only was I able to more easily remember the details of each interview and each respondent, but I was also able to be critical of my own position as a researcher throughout the process. It also adds to the richness of the study since I was able to, through observations recorded in my field diary after the interviews, add "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973).

I transcribed the interviews and then identified the main themes that emerged through manual coding and inductive analysis. Inductive analysis "means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton 1980:306). Even though the interviews were treated as conversations, the Interview Guide did give some structure with themes often grouped together under a discussion point, and this facilitated the data analysis section of the research. The overlapping themes were then further investigated in reference to relevant literature. It was important, and I strived to ensure that the stories that the respondents told, their vibrant portrayals of living life as precariously non-poor, remained front and centre in each chapter.

This also resonates with Patton's (2002) pragmatic approach to research where he assumes that because we are present, we can learn. Indeed, as Geertz (1988:4) notes:

> The ability of anthropologists to get us to take what they say seriously has less to do with either a factual look or an air of conceptual elegance than it has with their capacity to convince us that what they say is a result of their having actually penetrated (or, if you prefer, been penetrated by) another form of life, of having, one way or another, truly 'been there.' And that, persuading us that this offstage miracle has occurred, is where the writing comes in.

It is difficult to truly know with certainty how the respondents felt about me as a researcher or the interviews. I can only highlight the steps that I took to try and make them feel comfortable and trust that they spoke freely and honestly when I asked them at the end of each interview whether they felt happy with what we discussed and how we discussed it. Also, the onus is on me to be reflexive in my research and note my own position of power and privilege in the interview process (I am a white educated woman).

4.5 Limitations

Mixed methods and specifically, the sequential explanatory design, are not without its limitations. One of the most prominent is the time and effort needed to be able to collect and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data (Ivankova et al. 2006). I have tried to overcome this by focusing mainly on the qualitative data collection and in using secondary quantitative data during the quantitative phase. I was also able to hire a statistician to verify my quantitative findings and analysis, thus also freeing up extra time for the qualitative data collection and analysis. It did remain a constant battle during the study to justify the time spent on the various parts of the design and the analysis, whereas if only one method is used, that is your sole focus. I am also sure that some of the critiques this study will face is that I should/could have spent more time on either the quantitative or qualitative research rather than incorporating both.

Another limitation that is unique to mixed-methods research is that the researcher must be comfortable in using both methods as well as equipped to interpret the different types of data associated with the different methods. I tried to overcome this obstacle by making sure that I had the time to work through each part thoroughly and when I was unsure, I enlisted outside help such as for example using a statistician when I wanted to verify my quantitative

findings. This is also the part of the research design where I have the least experience and knowledge and thus by being able to access outside help, I could learn from my mistakes as well as strengthen the validity of the quantitative findings since they were checked and validated by someone else.

Inherent also to mixed-method explanatory sequential design is that there is the chance that some of the quantitative findings may be ignored or overlooked since credence is given to the qualitative findings. In other words, important results from the quantitative phase may not be followed up on during the qualitative phase. I tried to make sure that most of the variables and analysis from the quantitative phase was followed up on by having my Interview Guide used during the interviews with respondents structured around the quantitative analysis.

Ideally, in mixed method explanatory sequential design, the samples should overlap. In other words, the respondents for the qualitative phase of the research should be from the qualitative phase of the research. However, the sample size used by StatsSA in the IES and the GHS is a reliable representation of the precarious non-poor in South Africa at a national and provincial level while at the same time sharing enough overlap in terms of socio-demographics with the sample if respondents in the qualitative phase of the study. Also, when considering cost and time constraints during the planning of the research, the StatsSA GHS and IES data were invaluable while at the same time addressing research concerns often associated with quantitative research design such as sample size, the validity of data etc.

When conducting mixed method research, one must also navigate between the two different paradigms associated with qualitative and quantitative research. I tried to keep the two phases separate from overcoming this and from having the two research phases work complimentary and sequentially rather than overlapping. Although it is one of the limitations of mixed-method research, it is also the reason why one should engage with mixed-method research designs since it contributes to our understanding of both paradigms to work with them together as well as highlighting the strengths and robust contributions each can make.

So far, the limitations discussed have been theoretical in nature; in other words, based on the unique challenges faced by mixed methods in that not only are two methods combined but also two different paradigms. Now we move to a more concrete analysis of some of the limitations and obstacles that the study face.

It is important that the personal details of the respondents and the information they share, remain confidential and only known to the researcher. To help facilitate this, only their initials were used in the research journal and transcriptions of the interviews by the researcher. In presenting the findings, the respondents are also known as a respondent number.

An additional constraint that the research faced had to do with the research topic. It was necessary to ask sensitive questions related specifically to people's income and expenditure. This is a topic that people often feel uncomfortable talking about and often under-report or -or under-exaggerate their financial and social position. There is no easy way to overcome this issue, but the most successful manner was to establish rapport with the respondents, and this is often done over multiple meeting or by fostering a relationship over a long period of time.

Time is unfortunately not a luxury of this study, but I tried to overcome this by building a relationship with my key informants as a proxy to the connection they shared with the respondents they suggested. I was also specific in the choice of where the interviews took place and how I met the respondents for the first time. I tried in most instances to be introduced in person. This was of course not always logistically possible and then I would take extra time during the interview to focus on the initial questions that I found often put the respondents at ease since it was talking about where they grew up and their family. I would then also make time at the end of the interview to check in with the respondent to make sure that they were happy with how the interview progressed.

Building rapport usually involves trust and respect for the respondents as well as for the information that they decide to share with the researcher. It also entails establishing a safe and comfortable environment so that the respondents can share their experiences completely. DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree (2006) also describe the different stages of rapport to "generally include apprehension, exploration, co-operation and participation". It is of course never as straight forward in practice and often respondents (and researcher) move across the different stages throughout the interview.

I also employed some general tactics to overcome the difficulties during the apprehension phase like making sure the questions set out in the interview guide (see appendix) were

general and broad as to put the respondent at ease. This was also the groundwork for the exploration phase, where respondents usually started to engage spontaneously with the research topic so that they then moved to the co-operation and participation phase. This is, of course, the ideal, and the reality was not always as predictable. In one instance we had concluded the formal part of the interview and were chatting when I asked the respondent if there was anything else that she wanted to add or share. She actually asked to start the interview from the start, since she said that she had not been completely honest and wanted to add to her story. We simply then started the interview again. It should also be noted that in many of the interviews there were children playing in and around the respondent and myself and that I tried to always pack some extra pen and paper to give to the children when they seemed drawn to the voice recorder and my notes. It is difficult to circumvent the messiness and chaos that often define human interactions within research and I often find that working with it has better results. Thus, instead of trying to ignore the children during the interview, it is easier to engage them.

The ultimate aim of the researcher is to let the respondents take a leading and teaching role during the interview so that the researcher can learn from them. During the interviews I try to ask questions and move the interview along, but not to share my thoughts or opinions. However, it should not be forgotten that the researcher has control over how the interview data is used. “The investigator who starts the game and sets up its rules, and is usually the one who, unilaterally and without preliminary negotiations, assigns the interview its objectives and uses” (Bourdieu 1996:19). It is also here that the researcher needs to be self-aware and not to play into stereotypes or biases that might impact on the research.

The last limitation is linked to where the study positions itself in the literature. Overall, this is a new study area specifically in South Africa that is being investigated and therefore it is difficult to check and compare the results with other studies or to use work previously completed to inform the study or build on further.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Ethics and ethical research practices is a thread that can be and should run through from the start of the research to the end. Key to this is that the ethical consideration should be built into the study and therefore be part of the method. This is then also true for mixed-method research where it should be under consideration in both phases. This is echoed by Stewart (2011), who states that one should "think about research ethics in terms of best practices in conducting all aspects of research science – to maximise benefits and minimise harm" (2011: 5).

During the quantitative phase of the research, I used secondary data from StatsSA. Indeed, this in itself is considered an ethical practice, since it adds value to the data already collected, and it relieves the burden on respondents because no further data needs to be collected. StatsSA, as an organisation also adheres to strict criteria when making the secondary data available such as ensuring that consent was obtained from respondents and that they cannot be identified from any of the results.

Ethics were also the main consideration during the qualitative phase of the research, especially since this was the part of the research where I engaged directly with respondents. A crucial factor to consider therefore is that of informed consent. It is not enough to gain access to individuals; we must also make sure that they are aware of why and how they are participating in the research. Also, it should be very clear that during any time of the research process, respondents can quit or choose not to continue. Therefore, it is no surprise that there were some respondents who initially agreed to be part of the research process but dropped out either by not showing up or postponing until eventually cancelling.

Respondents were given a form with relevant information about the research that is proposed as well as with contact information of my supervisor and the Department of Sociology at the University of South Africa (see Appendix) before the interview started officially. The respondents were asked to sign the consent form after it was explained by the researcher what information is obtained in the form, and after they had had enough time to work through it themselves. The form was translated into the first language of the respondents as well as read to them aloud when it was clear that they could not read or write. I strived to ensure that the respondents knew and understood the purpose, methods and intended

possible uses of the research. I also stressed that taking part in the research was voluntary and that the respondents could and still can at any time choose to terminate their involvement. There was also not be any form of payment or reward given to take part in the research. However, this does not take away the sense of indebtedness that I will feel towards the respondents, and I did, as far possible, try to make them feel comfortable and safe as well as try to be a good listener continuously.

At the end of each interview, I would also end off with a few broad questions: “Do you have any questions for me? About the research or myself? And how was it talking like this with someone?” I find that this gives the participants some space to reflect on what has been discussed as well as starts the process of ending off the interview.

It is here that I pay special attention to their reaction and make sure that there are no negative feelings. Most of the interviews ended on a positive note with phrases like: “I’m right”/ “Ek is reg”, “All is good” or “It is good”. It is also important to note that I purposefully constructed the interview structure to end on a positive point since the last question was about a dream destination that they would hope to visit one day. There was only one instance where I was uneasy about the interview at the end, and when I asked whether she had any questions for me, the respondent asked me some personal questions. I tried to answer her questions honestly and was surprised by her sudden shift. I usually try to keep the responses about myself short, since it is about the participants and not me, but during this interview, I did share more than usual, especially my hopes regarding this research. I then went on to try and end the interview since we had covered most of what I wanted to know.

Interviewer:	“Do you have any further questions?”
Respondent 18:	“No, but I somehow feel like I haven’t been honest with you.”
Interviewer:	“Why? Why would you not be honest with me?”
Respondent 18:	“I don’t know, but you see with the family thing, you wouldn’t understand. You wouldn’t understand my family…”

After this interaction, the interview almost started over and I also feel that the respondent was comfortable with me (and the research). It was only through sharing some of myself that the necessary rapport was built so that the respondent started to trust me. This is also the

only respondent who consciously contacted me again after the interview. She phoned me the next day to thank me for the opportunity to talk to me.

Some of the respondents were emotional at the end of the interview because they shared memories and thoughts that maybe they had forgotten about or in many cases, they felt 'heard' for the first time. This is what Josselson (2007:547) refers to when she says that when an "interview is intensive and extensive, people will often take the opportunity to articulate the most sensitive areas of their lives, the matters about which they are doubtful or ashamed". This is a heavy burden to carry as researchers, and we must take special care in how we react and respond. Our words and our actions should (ideally) hold no judgement. That is often easier said than done, and we are quick to realise when we mark something as 'bad' but describing something as 'good' is often just as critical and judgemental. To try and circumvent this, I often tried to rather speak from my own position rather than to make general statements. For example, one respondent shared about the troubles that she experienced with her family life and that she did not feel supported, especially by her mother. I hope my answer showed empathy, but still highlighted the fact that I was not judging her or anyone in her family's actions.

Respondent 32: "Yeah, she's not interested."

Interviewer: "I'm sorry to hear that, but I really don't think that you have to be… I don't want you to be sad."

Respondent 32: "I'm not sad, but sometimes it gets to me and then it just… if it happens once in a blue moon because at the end of the day it's the reality."

There are, of course, moments where it is impossible to be impartial. One respondent was sharing about her family, and we were talking about their living situation (who lives in the house, who works etc.) when she started talking about her grandchildren. When she talked about her eldest granddaughter, she suddenly blurted out that she was raped two years ago.

Respondent 20: "And then the first one is a girl; when she was six, she was raped when I was here working."

Interviewer: "So? Who was looking after her?"

Respondent 20: "I was working with my sister-in-law, but she was playing with her friends. They were raped."

Interviewer: "All of them?"

Respondent 20: "Yes, three of them."

Interviewer: "Did you find them that did it?"

Respondent 20: "Yes, they found them but now."

Interviewer: "They're not in jail?"

Respondent 20: "No, no, no. It's a long story, but we know that man. It's a man with a wife and children and grandchildren."

Interviewer: "How did you find out it was him? The police or"

Respondent 20: "No, the children. When I was washing her. [pause] Something not good. [pause] I was so furious."

Interviewer: "What did you do?"

Respondent 20: "I was so furious; I take the stick I beat her."

Interviewer: "But you can't beat the baby."

Respondent 20: "I was so furious, so she told her father and her mother that this is the man who did it."

I was shocked. From what we had discussed just before she started telling the story of her granddaughter's rape, I had no idea that the interview was going to take this turn. And when she, to my understanding, wanted to blame underage sex on a six-year-old and punish her, I could not condone her behaviour. This was an instance where I reacted in a judgemental manner, and I realised that the respondent picked up on my shock and judgement by trying to justify her behaviour by explaining that this would have been the only way that could have identified the perpetrator. Looking back on the interview, I would have wanted to react differently. I think I missed out on letting the respondent explain her behaviour so that I could rather understand why her first instinct would be to punish her granddaughter rather than just plainly condone her actions. As researchers, we must be aware that we write and research in a post-modern space meaning that multiple 'truths' exist and therefore there is the opportunity for many experiences to exist together rather than to be forced into a narrative of a single dominant 'truth'. I missed the opportunity for the respondent to share her truth and her experience of her situation.

4.7 Reflexivity

The reason that I am addressing my own role as researcher during the methods section of the study is because it is necessary to constantly be aware of your own subjective position (in my case being a privileged white woman that grew up during and after apartheid), and therefore it has to be built into the framework of the study to be reflexive. This is by no means an easy task, in part because you must be aware of your own positionality, but also because even though you might be self-aware, you have to adjust your 'self' to be a good researcher and a good person. Mostly these two ideas should not be at odds. However, "interpersonal ethics demand responsibility to the dignity, privacy, and well-being of those who are studied, and these often conflict with the scholarly obligation to accuracy, authenticity, and interpretation" (Josselson 2007:538).

The tension between doing good academic work and still being a good person is not easy to navigate, and there is no set of rules that one can use. Josselson (2007) notes that in her review of ethnographic and narrative research over the last twenty years that she could not find consensus about what would ensure moral behaviour when we so easily insert ourselves as researchers in other people's lives. She goes even further and makes the point that part of the reason for this is because "[t]he actual ethical dilemmas of practice, however, the failures and regrets, are seldom written about" (2007:538 see also Price 1996 and Punch 1994).

Reflexivity is usually mentioned in relation to qualitative research as above. However, it is important to note, and this is especially important and relevant to research around poverty, that our roles as researchers are also important in quantitative research. It is not that qualitative research is subjective in comparison to quantitative research that is objective. Rather, both research methods are underwritten by specific paradigms and ideologies that shape how and why we do research (Fischer, 2018). It is important to keep in mind that during the quantitative phase, the secondary datasets used were prepared by StatsSA, which is a national institution of the South African government. This means that StatsSA and the work that they produce must adhere to the political agenda within South Africa even if as an institution would probably state otherwise and claim impartiality and independence.

I do not hope to resolve the debate about whether research can ever be objective or our place as researchers during research. Rather, I hope that knowing about what others have written, experienced and learnt I too can try to do better. Malcolm (1990) in talking about journalism and ethics which often overlap with ethnographic and narrative research makes a similar point: “The wisest know that the best they can do … is not good enough. The not so wise, in their accustomed manner, choose to believe there is no problem and that they have solved it” (Malcolm 1990:162).

4.8 Conclusion

Chapter 1 outlined the research questions related to the overall problem of the precarious non-poor in South Africa. The method(s) chosen not only had to answer the research question but also be practical given the timeframe and budget of the study. Since the precarious non-poor is a relatively new category overall and especially in South Africa, there had to be background given to the problem within South Africa while at the same time focusing on the specifics on how the precarious non-poor define their own situation. This macro and microfocus that had to be addressed within one study and ultimately warranted a mixed method approach.

A mixed method approach faces a double set of limitations related to the quantitative and qualitative phase, whereas other studies that use only one method have to only contend with the one set of limitations. Still, it is possible to try and use the one phase to address some of the limitations of the other phase. An example would be that the results of qualitative studies often cannot be generalised and is thus a limitation. In contrast, this is one of the strong points of quantitative studies. Using two methods, resulting in two different studies, also has its own set of limitations, such as being time-consuming and expensive. However, since this is a new area of research, especially within the South African context, not only was the approach warranted but necessary.

“Methods should be mixed in a way that has complementary strengths and nonoverlapping weaknesses” (Johnson & Turner, 2003:299). Also, in using mixed-methods research, one is invited to “participate in dialogue about multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple ways of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be

valued and cherished" (Greene 2007:20). I believe that it is only through using mixed-methods research that I was able to fully examine and understand the problem of the precarious non-poor living in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5: QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

Counting the precarious non-poor in South Africa

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the contribution of the General Household Survey (GHS) (2011) and the Income and Expenditure Survey (IES) (2010-2011) to our understanding of the precarious non-poor in South Africa. The main purpose of the analysis is to explore at the national and provincial levels the phenomenon of the precarious non-poor. For instance, how big is the population of the precarious non-poor nationally and provincially? What are the socio-economic characteristics of the precarious non-poor? What is the distribution of the precarious non-poor population nationally? The picture that emerged from this analysis also guided the representation of the qualitative sample during the second stage of the study. Furthermore, the variables found within the different datasets as well as some of the preliminary results from the quantitative statistical analysis also informed the in-depth interview guide**.**

The quantitative analysis is important because it highlights the distribution of welfare. Although I will argue that we strive to measure welfare and quality of life and it remains an ongoing debate how best to do this, "we can measure income, which is generally regarded as the best proxy for welfare" (Datta & Meerman 1977:401). I have highlighted some of the key concerns and problems associated with using income and household data in relation to poverty research previously in the literature review (chapter 2) and will keep this in mind throughout the chapter. However, I think that the amount of data contained within the datasets and the contribution of quantitative analysis cannot be denied and is invaluable as a background to the understanding of the precarious non-poor in South Africa.

5.2 Datasets

The analysis that follows is based on the IES (2010-2011) and GHS (2010-2011) datasets made available through StatsSA. Both datasets were used because both record income, demographic information as well as some other key characteristics to help build an understanding of the precarious non-poor population living in South Africa. The GHS is conducted annually, while the IES takes place every five years with the latest results available being for the year 2010/2011. Thus, the choice was made to use the GHS 2010-2011 results so to overlap with the latest IES results available.

The datasets record income according to a total income per person that contributes to the household. Many other data sources like the NIDS also record income but related to a total household income. By focusing on an average per-person income (thus still related to household income), the results and conclusions from the study can be compared to the poverty cut-offs used by StatsSA and those used globally. Granted using a per person income cut-off is not without problems like for example, that it does not, in certain cases, account for how many people, exactly, are dependent on that specific income to survive.

There is another limitation that must be flagged in terms of the IES and GHS data and that involves the relationship between individual income and household income. The quantitative analysis that follows compares individual demographic variables (such as race and gender for example) with a per-person estimate of household income. This is done because of how the questionnaires are structured and the interviews conducted: there are questions related to the household overall and then questions related to each of the individuals in the household. Thus, during the analysis it is necessary to combine the two sections and that is done by computing an average income per person in a household. Although the findings do talk to individual income, it is done in reference to this computed average household income. In other words, when focusing on a social demographic of an individual such as gender, it does not mean that if there is a higher percentage of women represented in the poor category that women are more poor overall, but rather that women are more present in poor households.

Even though poverty cut-offs and especially poverty cut-offs related to income can be problematic, the value and contribution to an understanding of poverty and in this case, the precarious non-poor still remains invaluable. It is also important to keep in mind the reason for the quantitative analysis, that is why am I using the data, since this further justifies using individual demographics based on an average household income. The data is used to paint a picture of who the precarious non-poor are in South Africa and how they compare to poor and securely non-poor households. Thus, being used descriptively and not further aggregating the data does mean that the results remain accurate.

5.3 Poverty Categories

The logic behind deciding on an income ratio related to being precariously non-poor (PNP) is described in the theoretical framework (chapter 3) and based on an understanding of poverty lines as well as an upper and lower threshold. Thus, for someone to be considered non-poor but still in a precarious position financially, I will use the range between R779 and R1558 per person per month (where R779 is related to StatsSA's latest rebased UBPL (PPP 2011) and with R1558 being double the UBPL amount).

Precarious Non-Poor	Monthly income per person
UBPL range (PPP 2011)	R779-R1558

Table 7: Precarious non-poor income range used during the quantitative phase

Earning less than R779 (per person per month) will be considered poor with people falling below the UBPL line. Earning more than R1558 (per person per month) will be considered secure non-poor (SNP) and this category overlaps with our understanding of what it means to be middle class in a developing (poorer) country. These income ranges will be referred to as Poverty Categories used to compare the Poor, PNP and SNP.

Results

Before continuing with the results, what will follow, are some general comments on how the tables were constructed and the statistical relationship interpreted. I used cross tabulations

to make sense of the different socio-demographic data within the GHS and IES datasets in relation to the Poverty Categories. The strengths of any relationship found, was then assessed by reviewing the results of Phi or Cramer's V – for nominal comparisons – or Kendall's tau-b for ordinal comparisons. These metrics, in turn, were interpreted to a correlation coefficient, where 0 indicates a non-existent relationship and 1 a perfect relationship. Based on Cohen's (1998) well-established effect sizes, the following rule of thumb interpretation are applied with 0.10 showing a small effect size, 0.30 a moderate effect size and 0.50 related to a large effect size.

5.4 National and Provincial aggregates of income distribution with poverty categories

5.4.1 GHS: National

Table 8: National percentages of Poor, PNP and SNP within GHS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Poor	55709	59.62	62.74	62.7
	PNP	14316	15.32	16.12	78.9
	SNP	18769	20.09	21.14	100.0
	Missing	4640	5.00		
	Total	88794	100.0	100	

The table above presents the frequencies of the three income categories or poverty categories as defined, amongst the GHS dataset. The final count of the cleaned dataset was 88794 with 16% falling within the PNP category compared to 63% in the Poor category, 16% on the PNP category and 21% in the SNP category.

5.4.2 IES: National

Table 9: National percentages of Poor, PNP and SNP within IES

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Poor	50502	53.14	53.17	53.17
	PNP	17519	18.43	18.44	71.61
	SNP	26964	28.37	28.39	100.00
	Missing	57	0.10		
	Total	95042	100.0	100	

After the data cleaning, the size of the IES dataset was 95042. Of that, 53% are in the Poor category and 18% in the PNP category whereas 28% fall within the SNP category.

5.4.3 Comparison and Discussion

The table below presents a comparison of the GHS and IES results in terms of the percentage size of the PNP in South Africa and in comparison, to the Poor and SNP categories. As noted in both the GHS and IES, South Africa still has a large proportion of income poor. The PNP although small in comparison to the Poor and the SNP categories, still also represent a significant proportion especially when one considers that these people are likely closer to sliding into poverty when faced with any negative life events such as for example sudden unemployment. The results are even more stark when the Poor and PNP category percentages are added together and compared (if we assume the PNP as more vulnerable to poverty than being closer to prosperity). In the case of the GHS that means that 79% of people in South Africa are poor or surviving just above the poverty line. This is in comparison with 71% of people in the GHS. This not only points to the fact that people struggle to move from poverty to prosperity, or from being poor to SNP, but also means that the problem surrounding poverty in South Africa is larger than just a focus on the Poor.

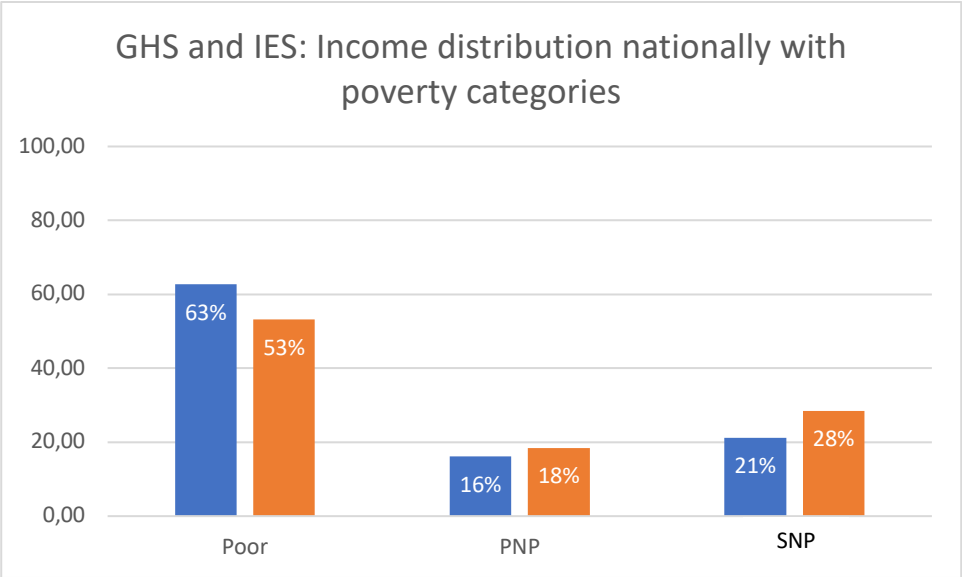

Figure 2: Comparison of GHS and IES percentages nationally with calculated for Poor, PNP and SNP Poverty Categories

There has been much work done to track the changing poverty rates since the end of Apartheid in South Africa (see for example Bhorat et al. 2001, Van Der Berg 2006 & 2014; Yu 2013). Seekings & Nattrass (2015:43) conclude that "it seems probable that income poverty worsened in the late 1990s, declined in the early 2000s and continued to decline despite the 2008–09 recession". There were some financial advantages that have trickled down to the poor, and there is also positive news on trends overall, but this "should not distract us from the continuing truth that South Africa's poverty rates remained exceptional in comparison with other countries" (2015:43). Indeed, Seekings and Natrass (2015) note that then South Africa's performance to reduce poverty is "dismal". The income of the poor did not change, and the rich only got richer, thus showing that income inequality was still very high. Although out of the scope of this thesis to track the changes in poverty rates in post-Apartheid South Africa, it is still important to give some background, especially in reading the results going forward. I also agree with Seekings and Nattress (2015) that although much has been done, more needs to be done. As noted, the proportion of PNP also shows that the Poor category might, in fact, be much larger than anticipated because I would argue that the PNP are most probably closer to poverty than they are to secure prosperity.

5.5 Provincial distribution

5.5.1 GHS: Provincial

An investigation of the income distribution by province reveals that Limpopo has the largest proportion of Poor individuals, followed by the Eastern Cape. The PNP seems to be distributed in the Western Cape, Mpumalanga and Gauteng which coincides with the higher percentage and distribution of the SNP. It should also be noted that these provinces are associated with bigger urban centres and economic activity and in the case of Gauteng and the Western Cape this can also account for the lower percentage of Poor in the provinces. The lowest percentage of PNP are in Limpopo, Kwazulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. What is important to note is that in the provinces with the lowest percentage of PNP, also present with the highest number of Poor. This would necessarily mean that in order to become SNP the Poor would have to move through the precarity thus the category of the PNP will then only increase.

Table 10: Provincial percentages of Poor, PNP and SNP within GHS

GHS - Poverty Categories by Province					
Province		**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Valid Percent**	**Cumulative Percent**
Western Cape	Poor	4012	38.9	41.8	41.8
	PNP	2048	19.8	21.3	63.1
	SNP	3537	34.3	36.9	100.0
	Total	9597	93.0	100.0	
	Missing	727	7.0		
Eastern Cape	Poor	7928	70.08	72.01	72.01
	PNP	1480	13.08	13.44	85.46
	SNP	1601	14.15	14.54	100.00
	Total	11009	97.31	100.00	
	Missing	304	2.69		
Northern Cape	Poor	3492	63.10	66.11	66.11
	PNP	913	16.50	17.29	83.40
	SNP	877	15.85	16.60	100.00
	Total	5282	95.45	100.00	
	Missing	252	4.55		
Free State	Poor	4704	59.79	61.55	61.55
	PNP	1316	16.73	17.22	78.76

	SNP	1623	20.63	21.24	100.00
	Total	7643	97.15	100.00	
	Missing	224	2.85		
KwaZulu-Natal	Poor	10626	64.75	69.33	69.33
	PNP	2037	12.41	13.29	82.62
	SNP	2663	16.23	17.38	100.00
	Total	15326	93.39	100.00	
	Missing	1085	6.61		
North West	Poor	5084	62.89	65.01	65.01
	PNP	1216	15.04	15.55	80.56
	SNP	1520	18.80	19.44	100.00
	Total	7820	96.73	100.00	
	Missing	264	3.27		
Gauteng	Poor	5593	43.24	47.77	47.77
	PNP	2222	17.18	18.98	66.75
	SNP	3892	30.09	33.25	100.00
	Total	11707	90.51	100.00	
	Missing	1228	9.49		
Mpumalanga	Poor	5655	59.51	61.21	61.21
	PNP	1758	18.50	19.03	80.24
	SNP	1825	19.21	19.76	100.00
	Total	9238	97.22	100.00	
	Missing	264	2.78		
Limpopo	Poor	8615	75.43	77.11	77.11
	PNP	1326	11.61	11.87	88.98
	SNP	1231	10.78	11.02	100.00
	Total	11172	97.82	100	
	Missing	249	2.18		

5.5.2 IES: Provincial

The table and graph below describe the provincial breakdown of the IES Poverty Categories. The IES results overlap with the GHS with the Poor most represented in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal and Limpopo. These are again also the three provinces with the lowest distribution of PNP and SNP. Similarly, the highest percentage of PNP and SNP are found in Gauteng and the Western Cape. Lower rates of poverty and more people in a secure non-poor position are found in the provinces that have the biggest economic centres. Interesting, and as noted above, it is also in these provinces where the highest proportion of the PNP are

found. Comparing the GHS and IES, there are comparatively more PNP in the Northern Cape according to the IES and in Mpumalanga according to the GHS.

Table 11:Provincial percentages of Poor, PNP and SNP within IES

IES - Poverty Categories by Province					
Province		**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Valid Percent**	**Cumulative Percent**
Western Cape	Poor	3206	30.16	30.19	30.19
	PNP	2403	22.60	22.63	52.82
	SNP	5010	47.13	47.18	100.00
	Total	10619	99.89	100.00	
	Missing	12	0.11		
Eastern Cape	Poor	8412	64.53	64.60	64.60
	PNP	1959	15.03	15.04	79.65
	SNP	2650	20.33	20.35	100.00
	Total	13021	99.89	100.00	
	Missing	14	0.11		
Northern Cape	Poor	2023	45.21	45.21	45.21
	PNP	1079	24.11	24.11	69.32
	SNP	1373	30.68	30.68	100.00
	Total	4475	100.00	100.00	
	Missing	0	0.00		
Free State	Poor	3992	53.33	53.36	53.36
	PNP	1582	21.14	21.15	74.51
	SNP	1907	25.48	25.49	100.00
	Total	7481	99.95	100.00	
	Missing	4	0.05		
Kwa-Zulu Natal	Poor	9867	62.68	62.68	62.68
	PNP	2267	14.40	14.40	77.09
	SNP	3607	22.91	22.91	100.00
	Total	15741	99.99	100.00	
	Missing	2	0.01		
North-West	Poor	5268	57.34	57.38	57.38
	PNP	1760	19.16	19.17	76.55
	SNP	2153	23.44	23.45	100.00
	Total	9181	99.93	100.00	
	Missing	6	0.07		
Gauteng	Poor	4177	32.92	32.95	32.95
	PNP	2703	21.30	21.32	54.27

	SNP	5797	45.69	45.73	100.00
	Total	12677	99.91	100.00	
	Missing	11	0.09		
Mpumalanga	Poor	4842	55.44	55.46	55.46
	PNP	1689	19.34	19.34	74.80
	SNP	2200	25.19	25.20	100.00
	Total	8731	99.98	100.00	
	Missing	2	0.02		
Limpopo	Poor	8715	66.70	66.74	66.74
	PNP	2077	15.90	15.90	82.64
	SNP	2267	17.35	17.36	100.00
	Total	13059	99.95	100.00	
	Missing	6	0.05		

5.5.3 Comparison and Discussion

When analysing the datasets with relation to provinces, the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu Natal were the provinces with the highest number and percentage in the category of Poor in both the GHS and the IES. Also, the percentage of PNP is very low when these provinces are compared to the others which might mean that people are not able to move beyond poverty not to mention beyond precarity. David et al. (2018) explain this in relation to the legacy of apartheid. Even though there are many other socio-economic deprivations that can explain poverty, “those who reside in these homeland areas remain especially badly off in terms of these deprivations” (2018:1). In comparison, the small percentage of PNP and SNP in these provinces. Although this cannot be answered based on the data available here and the analysis, it does raise a concern in terms of the poverty in South Africa and whether there has been really any improvement in the poorest provinces since it seems that people are still very poor. Another explanation could be that in order to move beyond poverty in these provinces you have to move to a province where there are economic opportunities and thus people move from being Poor in the Eastern Cape to being PNP in the Western Cape for example. That could also be a possible explanation for the higher percentage of PNP in these provinces compared to other provinces. Thus, in a way it is not possible to move beyond poverty in the poorest provinces.

Indeed, Gauteng and the Western Cape were the provinces that had both the highest number of PNP and SNP categories. These are then also the provinces with the biggest urban centres and the biggest financial hubs in the country (Cape Town and Johannesburg/Pretoria). Cape Town was recently ranked the top financial centre in sub-Saharan Africa by the China Development Institute in 2018 and overall 38th of the global index. Johannesburg was ranked at 57 on the same index (Günther & Harttgen, 2009; Magubane, 2018). There are thus more economic opportunities, and often the salaries paid are higher than in other towns or cities. On the other hand, it may also be more expensive to live in these urban centres. According to the Cost of Living Index by Numbeo[7] Pretoria was shown to be the most expensive city to live in South Africa, followed closely by Johannesburg and Cape Town. This could explain the high percentage of SNP as well as PNP in these provinces. As noted above, I would also argue that those people who struggle to get by in more rural settings would most likely move to the urban centres as there are more opportunities. This might lead to a slightly better life, but I would argue that they would maybe only move from being Poor to PNP. This is unfortunately beyond the scope to the information available from the datasets, but it is something that will be further explored during the qualitative section especially in the section that focusses on the comparison between city and town experiences of the respondents.

[7] Numbeo is the biggest database of user contributed information about cities and countries worldwide providing data for example cost of living, housing indicators, health care, traffic, crime and pollution.

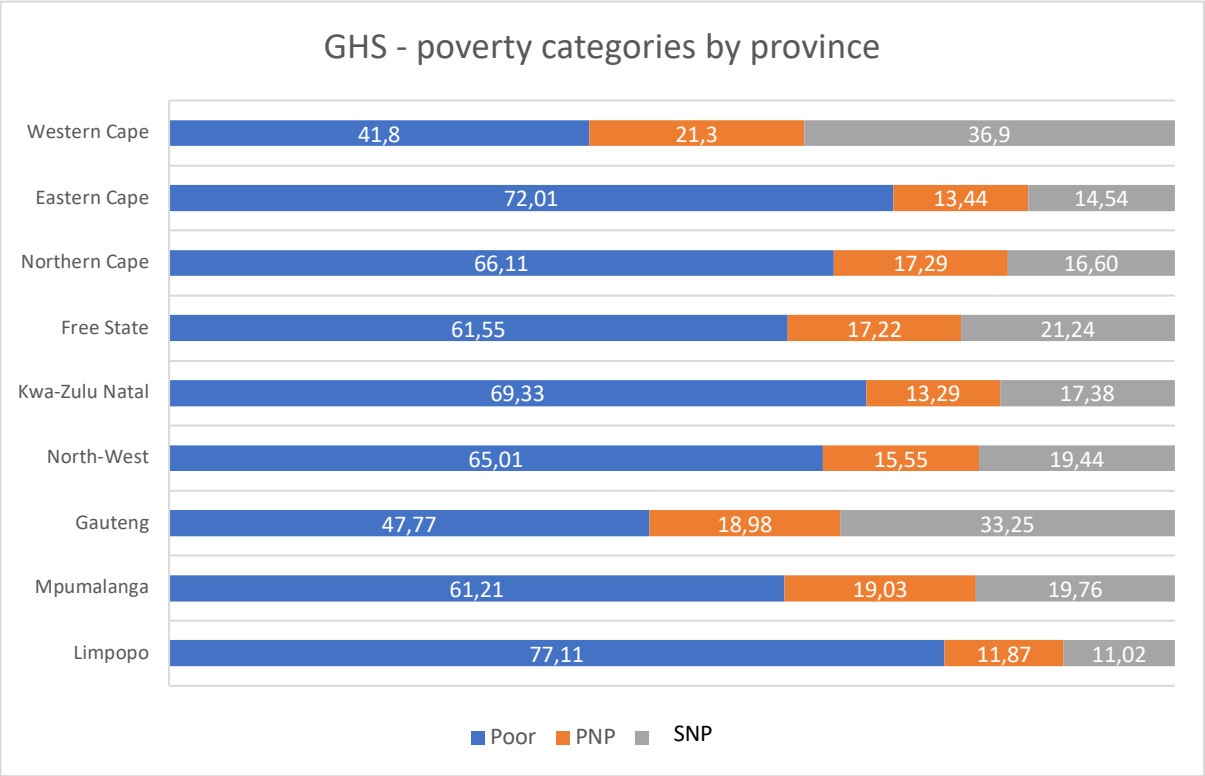

Figure 3: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the GHS for each province

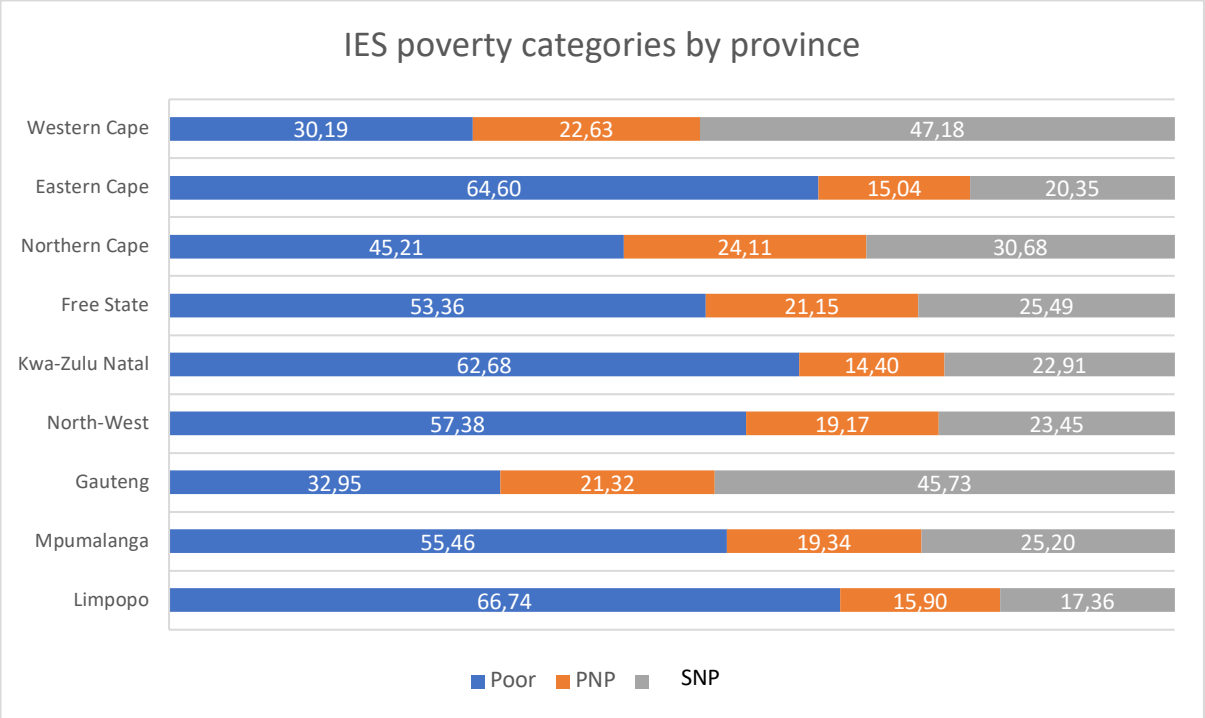

Figure 4: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the IES for each province

5.6 Settlement/Geography type

5.6.1 GHS

According to the analysis, an individual's Geography type/Settlement type is related to their Poverty Category. When looking at the Poor category the biggest percentage is within the Urban Formal and Traditional areas. This is similar to the PNP results. However, the SNP are far more likely to live in and Urban Formal (79%) environment. In fact, the SNP are far more likely to live in an Urban Formal environment than any other settlement type.

Focusing only on the Urban Formal Settlement Type, 47% are Poor, 19% are PNP and 34% are SNP. Thus, if we assume that the Urban Formal refers to cities and towns the larger percentage is still made up of the Poor. Again, if we add the category of the PNP to the Poor that means that more 66% of people living in an Urban Formal Settlement Type are struggling to make ends meet. It also means that the middle class, which as pointed out earlier is associated with the category of the SNP and concentrated mostly in the Urban Formal, still represent only a third overall.

Table 12: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Settlement Types

Poverty Categories by Settlement Type Crosstabulation (GHS)							
			Settlement Type				Total
			Urban Formal	Urban Informal	Traditional Area	Rural Formal	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	20708	4481	28603	1917	55709
		% within Poverty Categories	37.2%	8.0%	51.3%	3.4%	100.0%
		% within Settlement Type	47.1%	77.2%	79.8%	60.2%	62.7%
		% of Total	23.3%	5.0%	32.2%	2.2%	62.7%
	PNP	Count	8397	830	4386	703	14316
		% within Poverty Categories	58.7%	5.8%	30.6%	4.9%	100.0%
		% within Settlement Type	19.1%	14.3%	12.2%	22.1%	16.1%
		% of Total	9.5%	0.9%	4.9%	0.8%	16.1%
	SNP	Count	14859	492	2854	564	18769

		% within Poverty Categories	79.2%	2.6%	15.2%	3.0%	100.0%
		% within Settlement Type	33.8%	8.5%	8.0%	17.7%	21.1%
		% of Total	16.7%	0.6%	3.2%	0.6%	21.1%
Total		Count	43964	5803	35843	3184	88794
		% within Poverty Categories	49.5%	6.5%	40.4%	3.6%	100.0%
		% within Settlement Type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	49.5%	6.5%	40.4%	3.6%	100.0%

Table 13: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Settlement Type within the GHS

Poverty Categories by Settlement Type (GHS) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(x^2)*	10967.87	6	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.249		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

According to Pearson Chi-Square test, there is a statistically significant relationship between an individual's Settlement Type and their Poverty Category (p<0.001) and according to Cramer's V the effect is close to moderate. Thus, where you live has a moderate impact on the type of income you can generate.

5.6.2 IES

Within the IES results related to Settlement Type, the Poor are mainly found within Urban Formal (37%) areas and Traditional Areas (52%). Within the PNP 60% live in an Urban Formal Area and 30% in a Traditional Area. Once again, as in the GHS, most of the SNP live in Urban Formal Settlement Types (81%). Comparing the Poverty Categories within the Urban Formal Settlement Type, 36% are Poor, 21% are PNP and 43% are SNP. It is interesting that the IES results strongly overlap with the GHS results above with the interpretation of the results showing that 57% of people that live in a Urban Formal Settlement Type (we can assume this to be either in a city or a town) are either poor or struggling just above the poverty line.

Table 14: Crosstabulation results within the IES between the Poverty Categories and Settlement Types

Poverty Categories by Settlement Type Crosstabulation (IES)							
			Settlement type				Total
			Urban Formal	Urban Informal	Traditional Area	Rural Formal	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	18532	4048	26128	1794	50502
		% within Poverty Categories	36.7%	8.0%	51.7%	3.6%	100.0%
		% within Settlement type	36.4%	70.1%	74.1%	58.7%	53.2%
		% of Total	19.5%	4.3%	27.5%	1.9%	53.2%
	PNP	Count	10578	956	5281	704	17519
		% within Poverty Categories	60.4%	5.5%	30.1%	4.0%	100.0%
		% within Settlement type	20.8%	16.6%	15.0%	23.0%	18.4%
		% of Total	11.1%	1.0%	5.6%	0.7%	18.4%
	SNP	Count	21808	768	3831	557	26964
		% within Poverty Categories	80.9%	2.8%	14.2%	2.1%	100.0%
		% within Settlement type	42.8%	13.3%	10.9%	18.2%	28.4%
		% of Total	23.0%	0.8%	4.0%	0.6%	28.4%
Total		Count	50918	5772	35240	3055	94985
		% within Poverty Categories	53.6%	6.1%	37.1%	3.2%	100.0%
		% within Settlement type	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0	100.0%
		% of Total	53.6%	6.1%	37.1%	3.2%	100.0%

Table 15: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Settlement Type within the IES

Poverty Categories by Settlement Type (IES) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	14488.188	6	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.276		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The results for Settlement Type within the IES sample are similar to those seen within the GHS dataset, with participants' living environment demonstrating a relationship with their category of income ($p<0.001$). Similar as with the GHS results, the effect size according to Cramer's V is only moderate. Although ones living environment has an effect on the Poverty Category someone falls into, it is not the only factor (it is mediated by other factors) and/or the effect can only account for some of the reason that someone is for example PNP.

5.6.3 Comparison and Discussion

Although an important category within the GHS, IES as well as within the South African Census, Settlement Type is often contested in terms of how to define the different types and then in turn how to apply the definitions since it is often open for interpretation such as for example the definition of "Traditional Area". Although not denoting a change in methodology, the Research Report (2013) by the Housing Development Agency also shows this confusion even though they claim it is only a change in terminology from "Informal Settlement Enumeration Area (EA)" to "Informal Residential EA". We know that the employment opportunities are the more in the urban areas. We also know that the potential income is higher in urban areas. The legacy of Apartheid with urban/rural migration and the rapid urbanisation not only of South Africa but Africa as continent brings with it a definite impact on sustainable development (Cobbinah, Erdiaw-Kwasie & Amoateng, 2015). Bhorat & Kanbur (2005) also highlight the spatial dimensions associated with poverty. They also attribute a decline in rural poverty in the anti-apartheid era to rapid urban migration. This is also documented by Oosthuizen & Naidoo (2004) who document internal migration from poorer provinces to wealthy cities and provinces. Trying to keep people out of poverty while at the same time, making sure people are lifted out of poverty does necessitate an understanding of the type of landscape that they find themselves in daily. Rospabe & Selod (2006) have recently shown that within Cape Town when controlling for individual and household characteristics that rural migrants that are new to the city have a lower chance of finding employment than their non-migrant counterparts. The statistically significant relationship between Settlement Type and Poverty Distribution within the GHS and the IES adds further credence to the argument that where people live has an impact on their livelihoods. Within

the GHS and IES not only was there a statistical relationship, but it was a close to moderate effect.

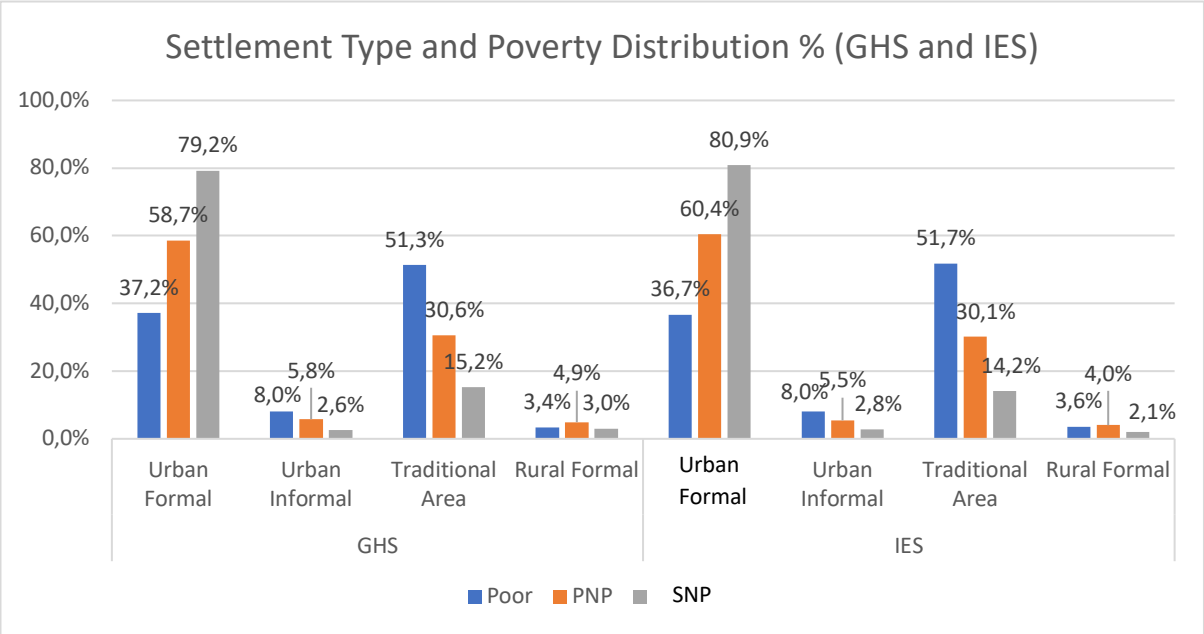

Figure 5: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the GHS and IES for each Settlement Type

It is interesting to note in terms of the PNP is that they are mainly located in areas that can be described as Urban Formal. What is unfortunately not clear is whether they were Poor and able to move beyond the category in the Urban Formal environment or whether the Urban Formal environment is responsible for their precarious position. Keeping in mind the work of Cobbinah et al. (2015) and others (see for example UNDESA/PD 2012) urbanisation rate is going to increase specifically in Africa and thus the Urban Formal and the Urban Informal areas will only increase as well. As Parnell (2005) notes, South Africa's wealth is centred in the cities, but also its poverty. "Without access to land or shelter, work or education the urban underclass must find resources to pay for basic services and costly rentals while they fight to survive in hostile social and environmental conditions" (2005:21). I think that although urbanisation can have positive implications, in terms of opportunities and that people are often better off in urban areas in terms of access to education and health care, there are also negative factors to consider such overcrowding, overuse of limited resources and unemployment with an increasing population specifically within in the Poor and PNP category.

5.7 Population group

5.7.1 GHS

Within the GHS 91% of the Poor Category is African[8]. Africans also represent the largest percentage of the PNP (80%) with the majority of the SNP being African (59%) and White (21%). If we focus on Population Group then 69% of Africans are Poor, 16% are PNP and 15% are SNP. This means that 85% of Africans are poor and/or struggling to survive. Within the Coloured Population group 46% are Poor, 24% are PNP and 30% are SNP. That means that 70% of the Coloured Population are poor or in a precarious position.

Table 16: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Population Groups

Poverty Categories by Population Group Crosstabulation (GHS)							
			Population group				Total
			African	Coloured	Indian/ Asian	White	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	50559	4431	445	274	55709
		% within Poverty Categories	90.8%	8.0%	0.8%	0.5%	100 %
		% within Population group	69.2%	45.9%	29.8%	6.0%	62.7%
		% of Total	56.9%	5.0%	0.5%	0.3%	62.7%
	PNP	Count	11404	2352	225	335	14316
		% within Poverty Categories	79.7%	16.4%	1.6%	2.3%	100%
		% within Population group	15.6%	24.4%	15.1%	7.4%	16.1%
		% of Total	12.8%	2.6%	0.3%	0.4%	16.1%
	SNP	Count	11122	2875	824	3948	18769
		% within Poverty Categories	59.3%	15.3%	4.4%	21.0%	100%
		% within Population group	15.2%	29.8%	55.2%	86.6%	21.1%
		% of Total	12.5%	3.2%	0.9%	4.4%	21.1%
Total		Count	73085	9658	1494	4557	88794
		% within Poverty Categories	82.3%	10.9%	1.7%	5.1%	100%
		% within Population group	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%

[8] Within the GHS and the IES African is used as a racial category. This is done because within South Africa, and the complicated history with race, there is a distinction made in terms of being Coloured (mixed race) and African.

		% of Total	82.3%	10.9%	1.7%	5.1%	100%

Table 17: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Population Groups within the GHS

Poverty Categories by Population Groups (GHS) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	15771.45	6	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.298		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

There are several interesting patterns within Poverty Categories when reviewing it in relation to an individual's Population Group. With a Chi-Square value of 15771.45, there is a statistically significant relationship between these two variables (p<0.001), with a moderate effect size (0.298). That means that if you are African or Coloured there is a chance that you are either poor or precarious. In comparison, if you are white, there is a chance that you are living a more prosperous life. It does not mean that if you are African or Coloured that you will be Poor or PNP since the direction of the relationship is not clear, but it does show that poverty is still linked to race within South Africa.

5.7.2 IES

Once again, the IES dataset results closely mimic the results of the GHS dataset. Within the Poor Poverty Category 92% are African and 7% are Coloured. Within the PNP Category, 82% are African and 16% are Coloured. Comparatively, 59% of Africans and 17% of Coloureds are SNP. If we focus on African as a Population Group, we see that 61% are Poor, 19% are SNP and 21% are SNP. This means that 80% of Africans in South Africa are either poor or living just beyond the poverty line. It also shows that 59% of Coloureds fall into either the Poor or the PNP category. Overall, White and Indian/Asian participants are more likely to fall within the secure non-poor category.

Table 18: Crosstabulation results within the IES between the Poverty Categories and Population Groups

Poverty Categories by Population Group Crosstabulation (IES)							
			Population Group				Total
			African	Coloured	Indian/ Asian	White	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	46405	3731	159	207	50502
		% within Poverty Categories	91.9%	7.4%	0.3%	0.4%	100.0 %
		% within Race	60.5%	33.7%	9.4%	3.8%	53.2%
		% of Total	48.9%	3.9%	0.2%	0.2%	53.2%
	PNP	Count	14307	2772	204	236	17519
		% within Poverty Categories	81.7%	15.8%	1.2%	1.3%	100.0 %
		% within Race	18.7%	25.1%	12.0%	4.3%	18.4%
		% of Total	15.1%	2.9%	0.2%	0.2%	18.4%
	SNP	Count	16001	4561	1332	5070	26964
		% within Poverty Categories	59.3%	16.9%	4.9%	18.8%	100.0 %
		% within Race	20.9%	41.2%	78.6%	92.0%	28.4%
		% of Total	16.8%	4.8%	1.4%	5.3%	28.4%
Total		Count	76713	11064	1695	5513	94985
		% within Poverty Categories	80.8%	11.6%	1.8%	5.8%	100.0 %
		% within Race	100.%	100.0%	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0 %
		% of Total	80.8%	11.6%	1.8%	5.8%	100.0 %

Table 19: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Population Groups within the IES

Poverty Categories by Population Groups (IES) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	15771.45	6	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.298		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

Just as in the GHS dataset, there is a statistically significant dependency between Population Group and Poverty Category. The Cramer's V value falls into the range of moderate effect size

(0.300). This shows that there is a relationship between race and in the very least poverty and precarity.

5.7.3 Comparison and Discussion

In both the GHS and IES databases, African individuals were the category most represented within the Poor and PNP Poverty Categories. This is not a surprise and mirrors the representation of South Africa's general population to some extent, with African being the most represented population group.

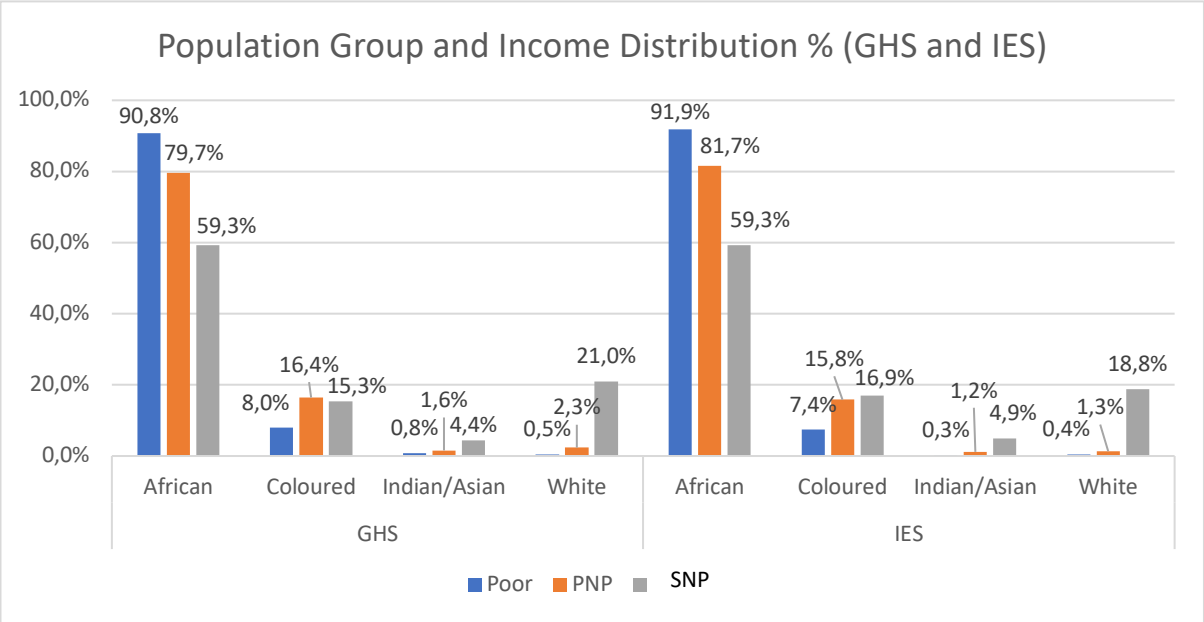

Figure 6: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the GHS and IES for each Population Group

It is also likely the legacy of apartheid, and its lasting impact on inequality within the different racial groups, is still also a determining factor in terms of the percentages associated with the Poor and PNP categories. It should also be noted that a higher poverty line used within the analysis of the IES and GHS would also account for the high percentage of African/ individuals that fall within the category and that this higher poverty line has been used after apartheid and is associated with what I would argue is a higher quality of life than what was expected during apartheid. Again, it is also striking that the PNP category mirrors the Poor category in terms of population group representation and highlights the entrenched inequality between the different population groups in South Africa.

5.8 Gender

5.8.1 GHS

The tables below show the crosstabulation between the GHS Poverty Categories and Gender. Within the Poor Category, 45% are Male and 55% are Female. Within the PNP category 48% are 48% is Female and 52% is Male. However, within the SNP category the 50% are Female and 50% are male. Thus, it seems that the more prosperous people become the more equally financial resources are split between the genders. It is also evident that in the Poor and the PNP categories, women are more represented.

Table 20: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Gender

Poverty Categories by Gender Crosstabulation (GHS)					
			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	25118	30591	55709
		% within Poverty Categories	45.1%	54.9%	100.0%
		% within Gender	60.7%	64.6%	62.7%
		% of Total	28.3%	34.5%	62.7%
	PNP	Count	6902	7414	14316
		% within Poverty Categories	48.2%	51.8%	100.0%
		% within Gender	16.7%	15.6%	16.1%
		% of Total	7.8%	8.3%	16.1%
	SNP	Count	9385	9384	18769
		% within Poverty Categories	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Gender	22.7%	19.8%	21.1%
		% of Total	10.6%	10.6%	21.1%
Total		Count	41405	47389	88794
		% within Poverty Categories	46.6%	53.4%	100.0%
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	46.6%	53.4%	100.0%

Table 21: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Gender within the GHS

Poverty Categories by Gender (GHS) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	153.417	2	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.042		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The relationship between income and gender is statistically significant in all the tests run below. There are a larger proportion of Females within the Poor category. However, despite the strong statistical significance ($p<0.001$), the value of Cramer's V indicates a relatively small practical relationship**.** Thus, even if gender can be shown to have a determining effect on people's income, the effect is small.

5.8.2 IES

With a focus on the Poor Category, 46% are Male and 56% are Female. Within the PNP Category, 49% of the respondents were Male and 52% were Female. Within the SNP the split was almost equally with 50% of respondents being Male and 50% being Female. This overlaps with the GHS datasets with the Female Category more strongly represented within the Poor and the PNP Poverty Categories. If we focus only on the Female respondents only, we see that 55% are Poor, 18% are PNP and 27% are SNP. What is especially striking is if we compare the Poor and PNP category, 73% with the 27% of the SNP Category. This means that of the Female respondents, almost two thirds the either poor or precarious.

Table 22: Crosstabulation results within the IES between the Poverty Categories and Gender

Poverty Categories by Gender Crosstabulation (IES)					
			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	22977	27525	50502
		% within Poverty Categories	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%
		% within Gender	51.1%	55.0%	53.2%
		% of Total	24.2%	29.0%	53.2%
	PNP	Count	8495	9024	17519
		% within Poverty Categories	48.5%	51.5%	100.0%
		% within Gender	18.9%	18.0%	18.4%
		% of Total	8.9%	9.5%	18.4%
	SNP	Count	13466	13498	26964
		% within Poverty Categories	49.9%	50.1%	100.0%
		% within Gender	30.0%	27.0%	28.4%
		% of Total	14.2%	14.2%	28.4%
Total		Count	44938	50047	94985
		% within Poverty Categories	47.3%	52.7%	100.0%

		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	47.3%	52.7%	100.0%

Table 23: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Gender within the IES

Poverty Categories by Gender (IES) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	151.223	2	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.040		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The analysis between Poverty Category and Gender within the IES sample reveals a statistically significant dependence between these two variables. However, results from the Cramer's V effect size indicates a relationship that is very small (0.040). This is similar to the findings on the GHS dataset.

5.8.3 Comparison and Discussion

The GHS and the IES show similar results in terms of Gender and Poverty Distribution. It is well documented in the literature both locally and internationally that women seem to bear the brunt of poverty and thus it is no surprise that the UN member states prioritised gender equality and poverty alleviation as part of their Millennium Development Goals and also lately within the Sustainable Development Goals (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016). Indeed, as Kehler (2001:45) notes, "as long as access to resources and opportunities remain determined by race, class and gender, women will experience the brunt of the burden of poverty and inequality".

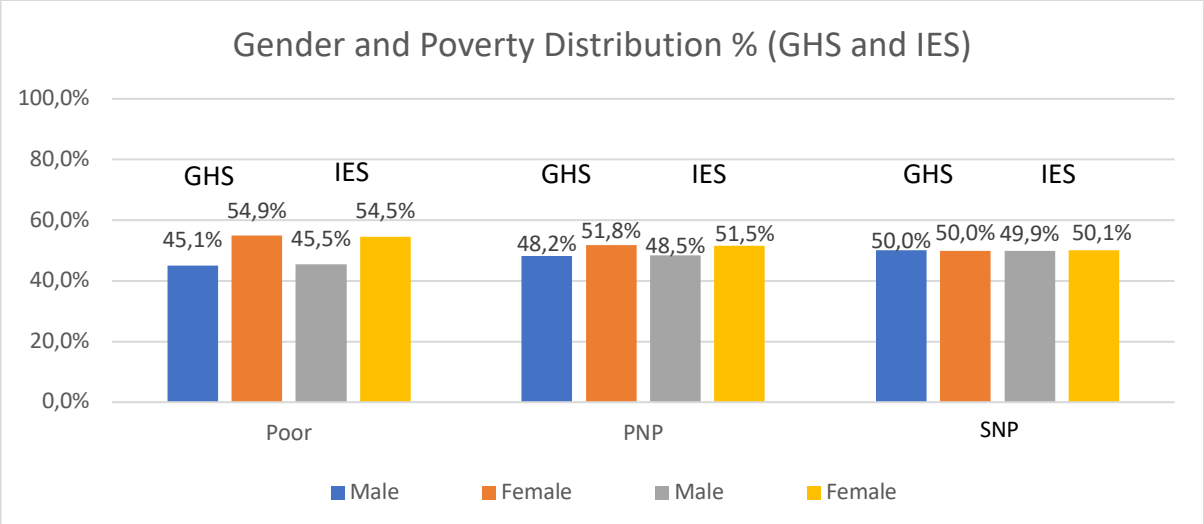

Figure 7: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the GHS and IES for each Gender Category

From the analysis, it also seems to be true for the PNP category and that women make up a larger proportion. Thus, those most vulnerable to sliding back into poverty from their position just above the poverty line, will most probably also be women. However, it should be noted again that in both the GHS and the IES gender is statistically significant, the relationship is very small. The conclusion can be made that although more women fall into households within the PNP category, being a woman does not increase your chances of falling into this income category.

5.9 Employment Status

5.9.1 GHS

Respondents within the GHS survey were asked about their Employment Status, in terms of whether they work for a regular wage, commission or salary. The results thereof were analysed in relation to Poverty Category. Within the dataset the data is coded as Yes, No and Not applicable categories within the variable. The Not Applicable represents a large proportion in the results since this includes children, this accounts for anyone younger than 15 years of age, and people not able to work. It is assumed within the discussion below that if a respondent receives a wage, salary or commission that they are employed, if not they are unemployed. Within the Poor Category 11% of people are employed whereas 52% have no means to secure of income related to employment. The proportion of people employed within the PNP Category is significantly higher in comparison to the Poor Category at almost

30% although the there is still 48% who remain unemployed. Within the SNP category 46% of the respondents reported an income compared to 33% that reported to income. Logically it follows that if someone is employed, they should fall within the SNP Category or in the very least, the PNP Category rather than the Poor Category. If we focus on those that are employed, falling into the Yes Category, 33% of the Poor report an income compared to 21% of the PNP and 46% of the SNP. This is worrying since it means that more than half at 54% of the respondents are employed yet remain in a poor or precarious position. There are a few reasons that could explain this like for example low wages or having a household with dependents.

Table 24: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Employment Status

Poverty Categories by Working for a wage, commission or salary – Crosstabulation (GHS)						
			Working for a wage, commission or salary			Total
			Yes	No	Not applicable	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	6328	28987	20207	55522
		% within Poverty Categories	11.4%	52.2%	36.4%	100.0%
		% within Working for a wage, commission or salary	33.4%	69.1%	73.1%	62.7%
		% of Total	7.1%	32.7%	22.8%	62.7%
	PNP	Count	3957	6781	3535	14273
		% within Poverty Categories	27.7%	47.5%	24.8%	100.0%
		% within Working for a wage, commission or salary	20.9%	16.2%	12.8%	16.1%
		% of Total	4.5%	7.7%	4.0%	16.1%
	SNP	Count	8656	6164	3901	18721
		% within Poverty Categories	46.2%	32.9%	20.8%	100.0%
		% within Working for a wage, commission or salary	45.7%	14.7%	14.1%	21.1%
		% of Total	9.8%	7.0%	4.4%	21.1%
Total		Count	18941	41932	27643	88516
		% within Poverty Categories	21.4%	47.4%	31.2%	100.0%
		% within Working for a wage, commission or salary	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	21.4%	47.4%	31.2%	100.0%

Table 25: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Employment Status within the GHS

Poverty Categories by Employment Status (GHS) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	10671.16	4	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.246		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The results demonstrated a statistically significant relationship between Employment Status and Poverty Categories (p<0.001) and according to Cramer's V the effect can be considered moderate. Thus, employment or then being employed does have an impact on whether a person is poor, precariously non-poor or securely non-poor. Still, what the results above also show is that that even if a respondent was employed, it did not mean that they were able to move beyond poverty or precarity.

5.9.2 IES

As in the case of the GHS dataset, there is also a significant proportion of Unspecified Category within the results. It is not set out within the IES what the Unspecified Category is exactly, but children under 15 were also not included in the question and it is not clear how this was coded in the dataset or if they were just skipped. It might relate to the number of respondents who would want to work but are not able to find employment. It might also be because of an underrepresentation of the informal market and associated labour that is not captured in this variable. Thus, it cannot be excluded as a category within the results. Still, what the cross-tabulation shows is that 12% of the Poor are employed (by someone), 7% are not employed with 81% being Unspecified. As we move onto the PNP Category, 24% of the respondents were employed although 68% are Unspecified. Within the SNP Category, 40% of the respondents were employed compares to 51% being Unspecified. Overall, if we focus only on the respondents that were employed, the Poor represented 30%, the 20% and the SNP 51%. This is once again a worrying statistic because it means that of the respondents that were employed 50% were either poor or surviving just above the poverty line.

Table 26: Crosstabulation results within the IES between the Poverty Categories and Employment Status

Poverty Categories by Worked for someone for pay Crosstabulation (IES)						
			Worked for someone for pay			Total
			Yes	No	Unspecified	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	6182	3412	40908	50502
		% within Poverty Categories	12.2%	6.8%	81.0%	100.0%
		% within Worked for someone for pay	29.0%	48.1%	61.5%	53.2%
		% of Total	6.5%	3.6%	43.1%	53.2%
	PNP	Count	4274	1281	11964	17519
		% within Poverty Categories	24.4%	7.3%	68.3%	100.0%
		% within Worked for someone for pay	20.0%	18.1%	18.0%	18.4%
		% of Total	4.5%	1.3%	12.6%	18.4%
	SNP	Count	10881	2398	13685	26964
		% within Poverty Categories	40.4%	8.9%	50.8%	100.0%
		% within Worked for someone for pay	51.0%	33.8%	20.6%	28.4%
		% of Total	11.5%	2.5%	14.4%	28.4%
Total		Count	21337	7091	66557	94985
		% within Poverty Categories	22.5%	7.5%	70.1%	100.0%
		% within Worked for someone for pay	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	22.5%	7.5%	70.1%	100.0%

Table 27: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Employment Status within the IES

Poverty Categories by Employment Status (IES) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	8633.785	4	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.213		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The IES analysis Comparing a participant's employment status (whether they are employed by someone in return for pay) in comparison to their household Poverty Category yielded a statistically significant result at p<0.001. Although it should also be noted that the relationship

strength was only very small according to the Cramer V test. Still, that can be attributed to the large category of Unspecified that weakens the relationship.

5.9.3 Comparison and Discussion

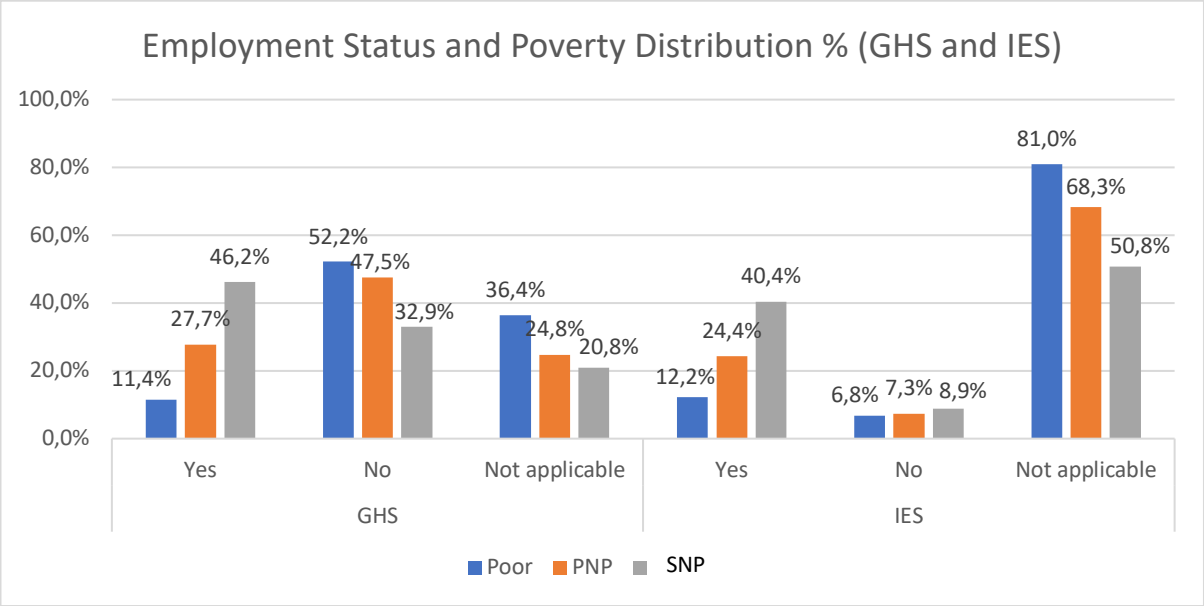

Figure 8: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the GHS and IES for Employment Status

As with income and expenditure, employment status is a difficult concept to measure. People often underreport or do not include all the specifics in their daily lives. For example, someone might be 'unemployed' in their preferred field, but still making money in some other way most often than not then in the informal labour economy, but do not report it as it is not their 'work'. Questionnaires and quantitative analysis, especially in South Africa, has improved significantly, particularly within Stats SA and associated datasets. There is still a high representation of "unspecified" and "not applicable" ranges within the results that probably are as a result of how people interpret employment, but it should also be noted that children are included within the results discussed and not filtered during the statistical analysis since only persons fifteen years or older were included in the questionnaires. Even with the Not Applicable Category included in the results, the rate of unemployment especially when considering the Poor and the PNP Categories remain staggeringly high.

However, that people are employed is not much better news since this means that 'formal' employment is not a solution to poverty or precarity since even with employment they remain poor or only marginally better off as the precarious non-poor. Although outside of the scope of the data available here, we must also know more about the type of work that people are having to do or take up to have a better understanding of what employment looks like. I would venture that the type of employment that someone who is SNP probably has is much different to someone that is Poor or PNP in terms of security, the 'value' of work, how it is regulated and what the possible income potential is.

Bhorat & Kanbur (2005) have also looked at the data quality and how it is interpreted and highlighted the idea of 'jobless growth'. It has been a commonly held belief that the South African economy has been losing jobs since 1994. The conclusion is based on a flawed and incomplete data set, with many bands of employment activity (and I would argue ingenuity) excluded. "This result, when tested against the more reliable household and labour force survey data, has since been shown to be fundamentally flawed – with employment, in fact, expanding in the post-1994 period" (2005:3). Taking all this into account, the unemployment rate is still staggeringly high, and the rate of employed poverty is also troubling.

The high unemployment rate is apparent both in the GHS and IES and especially in the context of the PNP. The argument can be made that the PNP are mostly working to stay out of poverty and not really in a position to prosper. What is also striking is that people are surviving without work and this could be attributed to the informal labour economy and a dependence on social grants from the government.

5.10 Social grants

5.10.1 GHS

The GHS dataset contains a variable related to Social Grants. As expected, the Poor and the PNP Categories have a high percentage of receiving grants. Within the Poor Category 43% of respondents received a grant. What is however also interesting is that of the Poor Category there are still 57% of respondents who do not receive a grant. Within the PNP Category, 35%

of the respondent received a grant, while 65% did not receive a grant. If we shift our focus only to the respondents that received a grant, 78% were Poor and 16% were PNP. That means that 94% total of the respondents that were either living in poverty or on the vulnerable to poverty received the grant with 6% of the grant recipients being represented in the SNP category. Thus, if you receive a grant, chances are that you are in the Poor or PNP category. However, there is still a significant proportion specifically 58.6% of people that are represented in the Poor and PNP categories that do not receive a grant.

Table 28: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Social Grants

Poverty Categories by Social Grant Crosstabulation (GHS)					
			Social Grants		Total
			Yes	No	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	23919	31790	55709
		% within Poverty Categories	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Social Grants	78.1%	54.6%	62.7%
		% of Total	26.9%	35.8%	62.7%
	PNP	Count	4996	9320	14316
		% within Poverty Categories	34.9%	65.1%	100.0%
		% within Social Grants	16.3%	16.0%	16.1%
		% of Total	5.6%	10.5%	16.1%
	SNP	Count	1706	17063	18769
		% within Poverty Categories	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%
		% within Social Grants	5.6%	29.3%	21.1%
		% of Total	1.9%	19.2%	21.1%
Total		Count	30621	58173	88794
		% within Poverty Categories	34.5%	65.5%	100.0%
		% within Social Grants	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	34.5%	65.5%	100.0%

Table 29: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Social Grants within the GHS

Poverty Categories by Social Grants (GHS) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square (X^2)	15771.45	2	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.298		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The results show a statistically significant relationship between Social Grants and Poverty Categories. Cramer's V indicates a moderate effect size of 0.283.

5.10.2 IES

Social grants are not isolated as a separate income category within the IES and included in the question about all income that the household receives. Within the PNP Category the main sources of income are Salaries/Wages (23%) and Social Grants (18%) including the old age pension. If we focus only on the those receiving a grant within the cross-tabulation table related to Social Grants, 64% of the respondents were Poor, 22% were PNP and 13% were SNP. Thus, from the respondents receiving social grants, 86% were either poor or vulnerable to poverty.

Table 30: Crosstabulation results within the IES between the Poverty Categories and Social Grants (as main source of income)

Poverty Categories by Main Income Crosstabulation (IES)																
			Main income													Total
			Salaries and wages	Net profit	Subsistence farming	Letting of fixed property	Royalties	Interest received and/or accrued	Dividends on shares	Regular receipts from pension	Social welfare grants	Alimony, maintenance and similar allowances	Regular allowances Received from non-household members	Other income	Not applicable	Un specified	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	5571	950	32	70	7	14	10	159	8878	368	969	178	32034	1262	50502
		% within Income Categories	11.0%	1.9%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	17.6%	0.7%	1.9%	0.4%	63.4%	2.5%	100.0%
		% within Main income	27.3%	33.2%	59.3%	50.0%	31.8%	15.2%	26.3%	19.8%	64.2%	65.5%	69.1%	54.6%	61.4%	56.7%	53.2%
		% of Total	5.9%	1.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	9.3%	0.4%	1.0%	0.2%	33.7%	1.3%	53.2%
	PNP	Count	4050	556	8	28	6	7	12	109	3156	98	225	59	8767	438	17519
		% within Income Categories	23.1%	3.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.6%	18.0%	0.6%	1.3%	0.3%	50.0%	2.5%	100.0%
		% within Main income	19.8%	19.4%	14.8%	20.0%	27.3%	7.6%	31.6%	13.6%	22.8%	17.4%	16.0%	18.1%	16.8%	19.7%	18.4%
		% of Total	4.3%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	3.3%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	9.2%	0.5%	18.4%
	SNP	Count	10804	1355	14	42	9	71	16	534	1795	96	208	89	11405	526	26964
		%within Income Categories	40.1%	5.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	2.0%	6.7%	0.4%	0.8%	0.3%	42.3%	2.0%	100.0%
		% within Main income	52.9%	47.4%	25.9%	30.0%	40.9%	77.2%	42.1%	66.6%	13.0%	17.1%	14.8%	27.3%	21.8%	23.6%	28.4%
		% of Total	11.4%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.6%	1.9%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	12.0%	0.6%	28.4%
	Total	Count	20425	2861	54	140	22	92	38	802	13829	562	1402	326	52206	2226	94985
		%within Income Categories	21.5%	3.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.8%	14.6%	0.6%	1.5%	0.3%	55.0%	2.3%	100.0%
		% within Main income	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	21.5%	3.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.8%	14.6%	0.6%	1.5%	0.3%	55.0%	2.3%	100.0%

Table 31: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Social Grants within the IES

Poverty Categories by Social Grants (IES) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square (X^2)	15771.45	26	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.298		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

According to the IES results, the type of income that a person receives has an influence on their Poverty Category although The Cramer's V value for this analysis falls just short of a moderate effect size (0.247).

5.10.3 Comparison and Discussion

Social grants (and social protection generally) in South Africa greatly impact on people's ability to survive day to day and have lifted many people out of absolute poverty (Patel, 2012; Patel, Hochfeld & Moodley, 2013; Finn, Leibbrandt & Ranchhod, 2014; Seekings & Nattrass, 2015). Social grants include means-tested Child Support Grant (CSG), means-tested Old Person Grant, the Foster Child Grant, Grant-in-Aid, Care Dependency Grant, War Veteran's Grant and the Disability Grant. The latter also includes chronic illness that also covers severe instances of HIV/AIDS. This thesis will not unpack the debates surrounding social grants within social, political and academic circles since there has been a lot of literature devoted to it already especially in relation to poverty. One is either of the position that grants are a necessary to help people in (and hopefully out of) poverty or it is seen as making people lazy and unproductive (Xaba, 2016). However, there is more evidence[9] to support the former position and it is also the position that is held in the thesis.

Associated with poverty, within South Africa, is deep-rooted inequality. However, it has been shown that social grants actually have an equalising effect once they are added to other sources of income (Tregenna & Tsela, 2012). Also, it has been shown that women account for the largest share of social grant beneficiaries, specifically within South Africa (Omilola &

[9] See Leubolt (2014) to refute the point that social grants lead to people avoiding employment. See Goldblatt (2005) and Makiwane et al. (2006) for a lack of evidence in relation to the CSG and an increase in teenage pregnancy or pregnancy overall.

Kaniki, 2014). Recipients of the social grants have been shown still to be actively engaging in other ways to secure more income for themselves and their families. Thus, "[t]he grant provides consistent and regular income that is supplemented by a diversity of income sources" (Patel 2012:118). We know from the literature that not only do social grants have a positive effect on alleviating poverty, but it also often targets those most vulnerable and unequally represented within poverty.

This is because it has also been shown that social grants are not effective in eradicating poverty, but rather just alleviating poverty and the fact that so many of the PNP households rely on grants also shows that grants are not effective in moving people from precarity to being SNP. It is well documented that social grants do not eradicate poverty, but rather alleviate it and I would argue moves those that are poor not into being SNP, but rather just into the category of PNP. The high proportion of grants recipients within the GHS and the IES results also show that the respondents remain either poor and/or vulnerable to poverty despite receiving social assistance. Also, Mosoetsa (2011) shows in her work within rural KwaZulu Natal, that in many instances social grants are the only source of income that households receive, and it is shared across the household. This does not mean that this sharing is always amicable and without tension between family members (Xaba, 2016).

What is also important to note in the discussion around social grants is how they are distributed according to a means test. This means test is based on income and based on StatsSA income cut-offs that are not related to the poverty lines already mentioned here previously. That is also one of the reasons that from the results of the GHS and IES most of the PNP receive social grants (if they are eligible) since the PNP cut-offs set out fall well within for example the CSG. Still, there remains a section of the poor and the PNP that do not receive any social assistance. Their oversight or lack of support comes down to the notion of the "deserving" and "non-deserving" poor (Leubolt, 2014) that underscores the South African social support system. "[G]rants are exclusively designed for individuals who are not able to work, such as pensioners, family caretakers, the disabled and those who are chronically ill. Grants are mainly for the elderly, the disabled, and children, as well as anyone who lives with the recipients" (Xaba, 2016:105 and Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Still, there remains a large proportion of South Africans that are poor and PNP, but do not have access to social grants.

A striking point that is made in the literature and again reiterated here in the findings related to the GHS and IES is that it seems that social grants alleviate poverty (thus moving someone from being poor to being PNP) but that it does not eliminate poverty (or help them to become SNP). Finn et al. (2014:4) tries to give an explanation as to why social grants are not necessarily helping people out of poverty by noting that, "[w]hilst the expansion of state support has helped to lower poverty, the persistently high levels of unemployment have prevented poverty reduction on a substantial scale". Indeed, it is the "triple challenge" of poverty, inequality and unemployment that needs to be addressed (Rogan & Reynolds, 2015). It is also this "triple challenge" that means even if people are able to move beyond poverty, they will still be in a precarious position (and most likely PNP) rather than becoming SNP. Indeed, the GHS and IES findings show that people remain poor or only move to being precariously non-poor despite receiving a social grant. It is unfortunately outside of the scope of this thesis since I did not include a change over time within the GHS and IES since the years do not overlap, but my guess would be that people and households oscillate between being poor and PNP. The GHS and the IES also highlight the fact that there is a large proportion of South Africans that are poor and PNP that do not receive any social assistance. This is important to highlight because these people still need to find some source of income to survive and this means that they are either employed in the informal sector, in erratic or ad hoc formal sector work or in underpaid position (or a combination of the three scenarios). This links to the previous section about employment status within the GHS and the IES as well that shows that although there is a big majority of the poor and the PNP that are unemployed, there is also a large group of people that are employed and still struggling to survive (Klasen & Woolard, 2009).

The most likely reason why there is a high percentage of people that poor or vulnerable to poverty without any social grants is because they do not qualify to receive any social assistance. I can highlight the characteristics of someone who is poor, yet not able to receive a social grant. It would be someone too young to apply for the Old Age Pension, someone that is childless and someone that is not suffering any ill health. Within the GHS 57,1% of the Poor do not receive social grants compared to 42,9% who do receive grants. Thus, a large portion of the Poor who should be able to find some kind of employment, are still struggling

either because of meagre salaries or not finding secure/stable employment plus doing so without any social assistance.

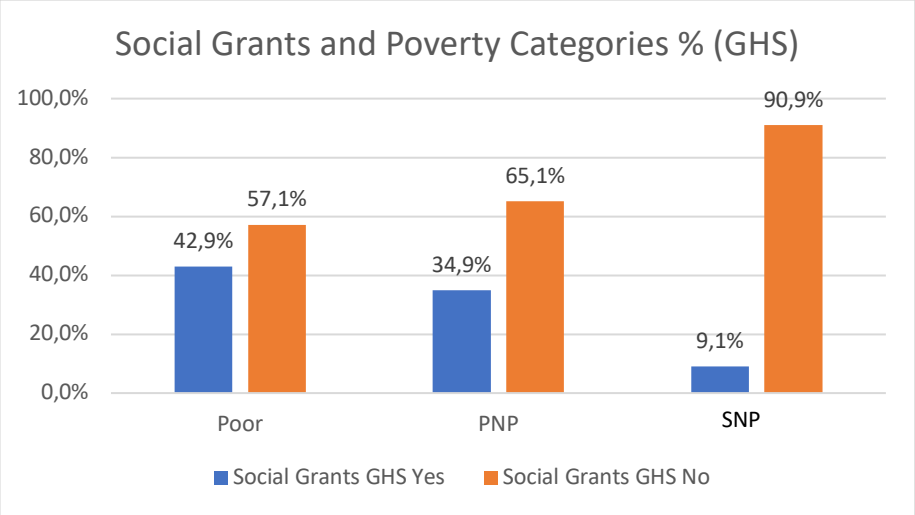

Figure 9: Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the GHS in terms of Social Grants

It should also be noted that there is a large proportion of Unspecified and Not Applicable cases represented in the IES data which I would argue is due to how the question(s) that measured income was structured to include for example categories such as 'Royalties Received' or 'Interest Received' while also then asking about 'Salaries and Wages' and 'Social Welfare Grants'. There is space in the interpretation of the data to conclude that there where many instances that the question was skipped or not finished (either recorded as Unspecified or Not Applicable) since so many of the categories under income would have not been relevant to most of the respondents. It is a flaw within the IES questionnaire that categories not relevant to most South Africans are placed before a category like being a grant recipient. However, this is one of the inherent characteristics of working with secondary data since the application and interpretation of the data remains disconnected from how it is captured. There is a case to be made that the data and results above related to grants and the IES should then rather be excluded. However, I think that the case can be made that the data is of use, but one should be cautious with how the data is employed (in this case for descriptive and comparative purposes of a category) and to work under the assumption that the proportions are more than likely skewed.

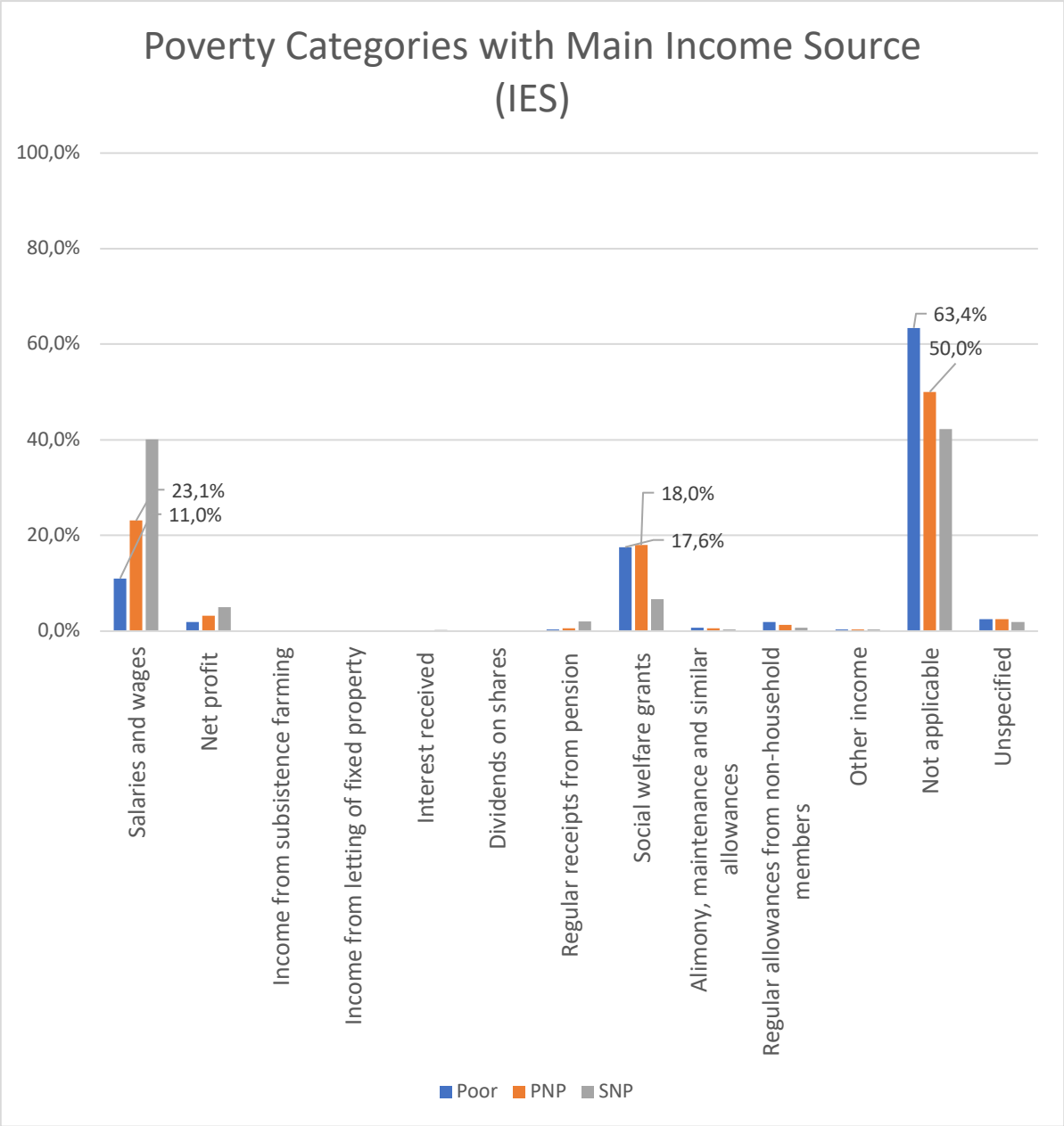

Figure 10: The Poor, PNP and SNP percentages within the IES for Main Source of Income

Overall, social assistance seems to lighten the burden of poverty and might help people vulnerable to poverty and precariously non-poor from not sliding back into poverty. Yet, it does not help people move beyond poverty or precarity.

5.11 Education

5.11.1 GHS

Within the cross-tabulation results for Education and Poverty Categories, the most significant results pertain to the Poor and the PNP. Within the Poor Category, 50% of the respondents had completed grade 9 or less with 22% having no schooling. Thus, a total of 72% of the Poor Category have no less than a grade 9 education. Within the PNP Category, 45% of the respondents had a grade 9 or less level of schooling and with 16% having no schooling. This means that 61% of the PNP category have less than grade education. It might seem that education, or then a lack thereof, has an important effect on poverty and precarity. However, if we focus on the Education Category specifically on respondents who have completed Matric[10], we see that 43% of the poor and 18% of the PNP have completed Matric. This means that 61% of respondents, even with a Matric Certificate, were still poor or vulnerable to poverty.

Table 32: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Highest Level of Education within the GHS

Poverty Categories by Highest Level of Education (GHS) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	14657.83	16	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.287		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

The analysis between Education and the Poverty Categories reveal a close-to moderate effect size of 0.287, when reviewing Cramer's V.

[10] Completing a Matric Certificate within South Africa means that someone has completed high school up until grade 12.

Table 33: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Highest Level of Education

Poverty Categories by Highest Education Crosstabulation (GHS)											
			Education groups								Total
			Grade 9 and below	Grade 10-11	Matric	Diploma/ Certificate	Undergraduate degree	Honours	Masters/ PhD	No schooling	Not specified	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	28105	8440	5602	733	85	9	10	12016	709	55709
		% within Income Categories	50.4%	15.2%	10.1%	1.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	21.6%	1.3%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	71.1%	60.8%	43.4%	19.7%	8.4%	3.5%	6.9%	74.1%	64.2%	62.7%
		% of Total	31.7%	9.5%	6.3%	0.8%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	13.5%	0.8%	62.7%
	PNP	Count	6396	2562	2364	407	43	7	4	2333	200	14316
		% within Income Categories	44.7%	17.9%	16.5%	2.8%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	16.3%	1.4%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	16.2%	18.5%	18.3%	10.9%	4.2%	2.7%	2.8%	14.4%	18.1%	16.1%
		% of Total	7.2%	2.9%	2.7%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.2%	16.1%
	SNP	Count	5051	2882	4930	2589	884	243	131	1864	195	18769
		% within Income Categories	26.9%	15.4%	26.3%	13.8%	4.7%	1.3%	0.7%	9.9%	1.0%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	12.8%	20.8%	38.2%	69.4%	87.4%	93.8%	90.3%	11.5%	17.7%	21.1%
		% of Total	5.7%	3.2%	5.6%	2.9%	1.0%	0.3%	0.1%	2.1%	0.2%	21.1%
Total		Count	39552	13884	12896	3729	1012	259	145	16213	1104	88794
		% within Income Categories	44.5%	15.6%	14.5%	4.2%	1.1%	0.3%	0.2%	18.3%	1.2%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	44.5%	15.6%	14.5%	4.2%	1.1%	0.3%	0.2%	18.3%	1.2%	100.0%

5.11.2 IES

The IES results in terms of Education strongly overlap with the GHS results. Within the Poor Category, 53% of the respondents had a grade 9 or less level of schooling. An overall proportion of 8% of the Poor had no schooling. This means that 61% of the respondents that fell within the Poor Category had a grade 9 or less level of schooling. Within the PNP Category, 47% of the respondents had a grade 9 or less level of schooling and 8% had no schooling. In total 55% of the respondents in the PNP Category had a grade 9 level of schooling or less. If we shift focus within the Education Categories, we see that 88% of the respondents that fall within the Poor and PNP Categories had no schooling. Similar to the GHS results, if we shift to Matric as an Education Category, that 33% were Poor and 19% were PNP. That means that of the respondents that had a matric certificate, 52% were poor and vulnerable to poverty in the very least.

Table 34: Comparison of Poverty Categories and Highest Level of Education within the IES

Poverty Categories by Highest Level of Education (IES) Chi-Square Test and Cramer's V				
	Value	df		
Pearson Chi-Square *(X^2)*	14532.286	18	0.000*	(Asymptotic Significance)
Cramer's V	0.277		0.000	(Approximate Significance)

*The result is significant if this value is equal to or less than p< 0.05

There is a significant statistical dependency between Education Group and Income. This is seen in the high Chi-Square value (14532.286) and the Cramer's V effect size, which falls into the range of a moderate effect size within the IES results. Those with the least amount of education are far more vulnerable in terms of their monthly income and typically fall within the Poor or PNP categories.

Table 35: Crosstabulation results within the GHS between the Poverty Categories and Highest Level of Education

Poverty Categories by Highest Education Crosstabulation (IES)												
			Education groups									Total
			Grade 9 and below	Grade10-11	Matric	Diploma/ Certificate	Undergrad degree	Honours/ Postgrad Diploma	Masters/ PhD	No schooling	Out of scope (child under 5)	Not specified	
Poverty Categories	Poor	Count	26598	8283	3818	689	91	31	12	3924	6590	466	50502
		% within Income Categories	52.7%	16.4%	7.6%	1.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	7.8%	13.0%	0.9%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	61.6%	50.1%	32.5%	15.5%	6.5%	6.0%	4.3%	66.1%	65.0%	57.2%	53.2%
		% of Total	28.0%	8.7%	4.0%	0.7%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	4.1%	6.9%	0.5%	53.2%
	PNP	Count	8286	3358	2174	524	66	23	4	1308	1633	143	17519
		% within Income Categories	47.3%	19.2%	12.4%	3.0%	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%	7.5%	9.3%	0.8%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	19.2%	20.3%	18.5%	11.8%	4.7%	4.4%	1.4%	22.0%	16.1%	17.6%	18.4%
		% of Total	8.7%	3.5%	2.3%	0.6%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	1.7%	0.2%	18.4%
	SNP	Count	8278	4896	5751	3243	1241	464	265	700	1921	205	26964
		% within Income Categories	30.7%	18.2%	21.3%	12.0%	4.6%	1.7%	1.0%	2.6%	7.1%	0.8%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	19.2%	29.6%	49.0%	72.8%	88.8%	89.6%	94.3%	11.8%	18.9%	25.2%	28.4%
		% of Total	8.7%	5.2%	6.1%	3.4%	1.3%	0.5%	0.3%	0.7%	2.0%	0.2%	28.4%
Total		Count	43162	16537	11743	4456	1398	518	281	5932	10144	814	94985
		% within Income Categories	45.4%	17.4%	12.4%	4.7%	1.5%	0.5%	0.3%	6.2%	10.7%	0.9%	100.0%
		% within Education groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	45.4%	17.4%	12.4%	4.7%	1.5%	0.5%	0.3%	6.2%	10.7%	0.9%	100.0%

5.11.3 Comparison and Discussion

The results within the GHS and the IES emphasise the relationship between Education and the Poverty Categories. Within the GHS 43% of the Poor and 18% of the PNP have a Matric Certificate compared to 38% of the SNP. Thus, 61% of the respondents with a matric certificate remain in poverty or vulnerable to poverty. Moving on to a having Diploma or Tertiary Certificate 20% are Poor, 11% are PNP and 70% are SNP. Thus, only 30% of the respondents are the poor or precarious. Granted, still a large proportion, but much less than with only Matric. This strongly overlaps with the IES findings, where of the respondents with a Matric Certificate, 33 % were Poor and 19% were PNP compared to 49% falling in the SNP category. Having a Diploma or Tertiary Certificate resulted in 16% of the respondents being Poor, 12% PNP and 73% SNP. What is also clear from the results is that it seems that education is one way to move from poverty to being precariously non-poor or the securely non-poor. However, it is not a guarantee.

The legacy of apartheid not only had a lasting effect on the relationship between race and poverty, but also in terms of education and wealth (Spaull, 2015). Even with apartheid long been abolished, the schools that catered formerly to white pupils remain functional, while the schools that were set aside for black[11] pupils still function at a lower level. Both the GHS and IES results show that many of the respondents have little or no schooling. What is more troubling is the strong correlation between being poor and precarious with education (or a lack thereof). Indeed, according to Cosgrove & Curtis (2018:201) "a lack of an adequate education is one of the definitions of poverty". Still, even if we focus on those respondents that have completed Matric, that have a high school education, almost half in the GHS and IES of respondents remain poor or vulnerable to poverty. Spaull (2015) points out that there are huge differences in terms of the attainment of Matric across the different races, but adds that this is almost too late to start any interventions since "learning is a cumulative process where current learning builds on the previous learning" (2015:25). Indeed, because of a low level of education available to the poor and the precariously non-poor this ends up becoming a poverty trap. "Thus, one can say that the poor children in South Africa, who make up the majority, are starting behind and staying behind" (2015:36). It also makes it very difficult to keep up with school overall and then finally to finish Matric. This does not even consider the relationship between education and for example employment. Indeed, a quality of education later on dictates a quality job and better earnings (Hanushek & Woessmann, 2008).

[11] I use the racial category 'black' to refer to people as not 'white' (thus including African, Coloured, Indian and Asian as was used during the Quantitative Section within the GHS and IES). This is mostly done because during apartheid there was discrimination against all black people and because there still is a lasting legacy that all black people are worse off than their white counterparts.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore the relationship between Household Poverty Categories, reflected on a per-person monthly basis, and various demographic variables from the GHS and the IES. Separate analyses were conducted for the GHS and IES datasets. However, the statistical outcomes demonstrate a similar pattern of results. There were statistically significant relationships between Poverty Category and all the demographic variables under review. The strength of these significant relationships was typically $p<0.001$.

Reviewing the size of the Chi-square test and the effect size, here operationalised as Cramer's V, provides insight into the practical strength of the relationship. Gender played a small role in Poverty Category. A variable that played a larger role was Settlement Type, with those from rural areas typically living off less money each month than those from urban areas. A participant's form of income (whether or not he/she is employed) and the presence of Social Grants had a significant statistical and practical relationship with the three Poverty Categories under review. Whether or not a participant receives Social Grants is typically not enough to alleviate their financial troubles since those who receive grants are still significantly more likely to fall within the Poor and PNP categories. Receiving regular earnings from a job was related to a higher Poverty Category but did not always protect participants from financial vulnerability. Education seems to play a big role the Poverty Categories overall, but it also does not seem to guarantee that someone will move beyond poverty or precarity.

Overall, there is not much difference between what it means to be Poor or PNP in South Africa in terms of the GHS and IES statistical analysis. What is striking, is that all the variables either have a small or moderate effect on the Poverty Categories. This only goes to show that to address poverty and to help people move beyond precarity, it is not enough to focus only on one aspect in people's lives. What the analysis here cannot account for is how this correlation plays out between the variables and, for the purposes of this research study, the precariously non-poor. Therefore, in the next section, the qualitative phase, the focus will shift to give more detail and nuance to exactly how the relationships play out. Although we can see that if someone lives in a city, if they are male, if they are white, if they are employed, non-recipients of a social grant and educated, chances are they are close to living a prosperous life. However, we also see from the results above, that often people are living in a city,

employed and educated, but still struggling to get by. Thus, we need to have a better understanding of how people are living in the city, what type of employment they have access too, and what education means to and for them. All this while keeping in mind that those most vulnerable to poverty, based on the findings, are women of colour.

The variables with some of the strongest correlation (employment, education and gender) also overlap with what the respondents highlighted during the in-depth interviews during the qualitative phase. Within the next section (chapter 6 and 7) these variables are in turn be framed as basic capabilities and used as a definition of what it means to be vulnerable to poverty, or in other words, precariously non-poor. Not only does the next phase of the research expand on how these variables play out in people's lives, but also the relationship that exist between them (such as for example not being able to get a good job without a good education) which is something that the quantitative results cannot capture.

CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Getting to the basics:
A qualitative analysis of the precarious non-poor through the capability lens

"Ons help uit die die rivier, maar ons self loop ook in die modder"
"We help them out of the river, but we ourselves also walk in the mud."
(Respondent 10)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on some of the key qualitative findings. During the coding of the qualitative transcriptions, one of the recurring themes relates to issues of security. This might be in an explicit way in terms of for example feeling safe in one's home or not, but also in a subtler way such as for example worrying about the future in terms of one's financial security. I intend to in this chapter unpack this theme and highlight the different ways in which security or a lack there off permeates the daily lives of people and specifically the precariously non-poor, how this relates to a set of basic capabilities and that it shows that the precariously non-poor are closer to poverty than prosperity.

I have already set out how I operationalised the capability approach to use in this study within the theoretical framework chapter (chapter 3). However, what is important to note again, is that many of the recurring themes that came to the fore during the qualitative interviews overlap with what can be described as basic capabilities namely employment, education, gender issues, food security and housing. Another critical point to make is that the themes that were most pertinent during the interviews, also overlap with the quantitative phase of the research study. Within the quantitative results education, employment, social grants and gender had a correlation with the poverty categories. It is not only that the respondents feel that these are important issues to address. It seems that according to the qualitative and quantitative analysis that concentrating on, and addressing these issues, could have to a significant effect on people's overall quality of life.

Although Sen does not want to set minimum benchmarks in terms of what a good life should entail since everyone should be free to choose the life they want to live, he does, in the instance of poverty, suggest some basic capabilities. Basic capabilities are important "not so much in ranking living standards, but in deciding on a cut-off point for the purpose of assessing

poverty and deprivation" (Sen, 1987a:109). As I have highlighted in the literature review and within the theoretical framework, much work has been done in theory with regards to basic capabilities and what exactly should be on the list. However, just as with this research study, there have been other empirical studies that have highlighted capabilities that people value such as the work of Narayan et al. (2000) in their project *Voices of the Poor* and as previously noted Clark's (2005) research within South Africa. Narayan et al. (2000) found that people emphasised issues such as bodily integrity, bodily health, cultural identity, imagination and the information and education as well as political representation. Within Clark's (2005) work people focused on employment, housing, education as well as political representation. "While the specific meanings people may assign to each of these (admittedly somewhat vague) headings may vary, it is nonetheless apparent that there is some consonance in the fundamental *categories*, such as with health, education/information, sociability and safety"(Cosgrove & Curtis, 2018:7).

The other themes that are focused on in the qualitative phase, relate to food security and housing, and were also emphasised by the respondents during the in-depth interviews. Although they do not specifically link to the quantitative section, there is some overlap in terms of housing and for example one's settlement type. However, the main reasons to include these themes remain because firstly, the respondents gave credence to them and secondly, because they link to the definition of what it means to be precariously non-poor specifically in the South African context. As noted within the literature review, how we talk about the precariously non-poor depends on context and whether the focus is on keeping people vulnerable to poverty out of poverty or whether it is to move people from precarity to prosperity. A key concept that distinguishes these two notions from each other is security. If you have security (in terms of finances, food, housing, etc), it is possible to plan for the future and to more easily weather any shocks (such as a death of a loved one for example). By focusing on security, I will show that the precarious non-poor in South Africa are closer to poverty than to prosperity and that a sense of security and stability remains out of reach. This is then expanded on in the next chapter in the qualitative section where the focus shifts to how people's sense of security is threatened, often through violence.

6.2 The precarious non-poor in practice

I have already set out in the methodology chapter how I selected and made contact with the respondents represented in the following pages. I have also shown that an income-only approach, even as a proxy for well-being, it not sufficient in capturing the everyday lived experiences of people. Still, there had to be some link between the quantitative and qualitative phases of the study, and here, a focus on income was instrumental. I used a related yet adjusted income category (PPP) of R1077-R2154 (2017) and R1227-R2454 (PPP) based on the same logic as the cut-off used during the quantitative analysis. At the start of each interview, I would explain what the study was about and make clear that the focus is on people who are not poor yet still struggling to get by. I would set out the income category that I am focusing on and ask if they fell into said category. I did not verify their financial position any further or ask for details about their finances in specifics. The interview guide was set up to ask about their finances overall, and during our discussions when a level of rapport had been built up, I would probe more about specific details.

I have made reference, during the methodology chapter (chapter 4), to the fact that there were moments during some of the interviews where a respondent would feel rather poor than precarious, or even more secure than precarious since they would express an opinion or tell a story that would make me doubt their position as precariously non-poor. This conflict between their stated financial status (thus identifying as precariously non-poor) and the events or experience that sometimes made them seem poorer or sometimes more secure than precarious is due to two main reasons. The first reason concerns the transient nature of poverty. In other words, —and this is also one of the major drawbacks of working with quantitative data—people's lives are spread out over time, and a snapshot cannot convey how their lives shift over time. Indeed, it is possible to be poor one week and precariously non-poor the next week due to suddenly finding some employment or even due to seasons changing and needing less electricity and thus having more money. The respondents also spoke about their experiences in a very subjective way often conflating the past, present and future. Their experiences of being poor or struggling in the past are still very much a part of who they are now.

The second reason relates to how we talk about the experience of poverty. Although the respondents understood the focus of the study, there is not really a vocabulary available to them to talk about the group of people, that they identify with, that are between poverty and being securely non-poor. This is not only a challenge for the respondents, but it is also something that I struggled with throughout the study. It is difficult to steer away from the poor/non-poor binary. Thus, when the respondents spoke about their financial struggles or even just in general about how hard it is to get by, they would talk about their experience of poverty, "ons armes/ "*us, the poor*". Yet, they were also very aware of the poor and that they are in many ways better off than some of their friends, neighbours or family members that they spoke about and that they themselves were then not exactly poor. I think that flipping between a description of poor and not poor when talking, the respondents also show just how far one actually is in attaining security and a stable future just beyond poverty. That their positions are precariously close to poverty and far from security.

For the rest of the chapter, the focus will be on the basic capabilities as highlighted by the respondents with particular attention on education, employment, gender issues, food security and housing.

6.3 Employment and the capability approach

Much has been written about employment and more specifically, unemployment, especially in the South African context. The latest statistics, at the time of writing, show that unemployment has risen to present 27.2% of the labour force in the first half of 2018 (Statistics South Africa, 2018). There is of course also the unofficial unemployment rate which lies closer to 35% based on a more expanded definition that includes those people who have given up on finding employment and not actively looking for a job (Lilenstein et al. 2016 & Statistics South Africa 2018). Similar results were also found in the previous chapter within the GHS and the IES when the Poverty Categories were compared to whether someone has 'worked for someone for pay' to signify being employed. When focusing only on the category that indicated 'No' we can assume that these people are not employed. Within the GHS this represents 69% of the poor and 16% of the precariously non-poor. Within the IES 48% of the poor were not employed and 18% of the precariously non-poor. In total between 66% (GHS)

and 85% (IES) of the respondents that participated in the surveys were not employed which is a very worrying statistic. However, a focus on employment rates and income levels only tells a part of the story, especially for the respondents. Even though South Africa is often cited as one of the top two economies on the African continent, most of the respondents struggle to find employment, to find quality employment and to find employment that would give them some stability and financial security.

Within the capability approach, the aim is to increase people's freedom. Thus, in the context of employment that would mean that a person can partake in the labour market as they see fit; the alternative of denying them that opportunity would be a violation of their freedom. "When they are forced to work in unfavourable contexts or unable to seek employment of their choice, or when women are forbidden, in certain cultures, to work and receive a salary, their human freedom is violated" (Shahani & Deneulin 2009:179). Earning a salary, for example, is not more important than being a good citizen or being a good father. What is important is the agency and overall wellbeing of people.

Indeed, as Shahani & Deneulin (2009:180) notes

> "economic growth can end up being *jobless* without increased employment opportunities; *ruthless* with benefits going mainly to the rich rather than the poor; *voiceless* without an expansion of empowerment and political engagement; *rootless* by stifling rather than encouraging cultural diversity; and *futureless* by depleting natural resources rather than being environmentally friendly".

Respondent 20 works as a cleaner at a business, and she sums up this contradiction of working to survive versus being able to work to live.

Respondent 20 In South Africa, we are poor because we get less money. We are losing jobs; like now I told you that my son is on an internship as a prison warden, but the government say that he doesn't have the money to employ them. If he's done with that internship, he will be sitting at home.

In fact, most of the PNP respondents were employed[12] and if not formally employed they tried to make money in other ways. Yet, it was not in jobs that they would have chosen or even jobs that they enjoy doing. It was only to serve the purpose to make some (often very little) money. I would argue that this is perhaps one of the key characteristics of the PNP that can be concluded from the interviews conducted and where they differentiate themselves from what it means to be poor in South Africa.

Respondent 10	As jy loop, die mense wil nie hê jy moet inkom nie. Hulle sê daar is nie werk nie. Hulle wil hê jy moet sit. Jy is honger daardie tyd.
Respondent 10	*When you walk around, people don't want you to come in. They say there is no work. They want you to sit. You are hungry during that time.*

The precariously non-poor are employed, but with an added caveat that they should be very thankful for these jobs and since it is probably a fluke, they should also feel lucky. Their choice and agency are null and void.

Respondent 17	Eish. Luck. Of iemand wat seker bietjie meer omgee as iemand anders en vir hulle iets offer of 'n kans hê
Respondent 17	*Eish. Luck. Or someone that cared a little more than someone else and that could give them something or a chance*

For the purposes of this thesis, employment is framed as a basic capability. Thus, having the opportunity to find employment is a capability. However, talking about employment as a basic capability makes this idea of the opportunity to find employment a necessity that should be afforded to all. Keeping in mind that the basic capabilities discussed here were highlighted by the respondents themselves in terms of what opportunities they want/need, I would take the argument further and add that in terms of the poor and the PNP, these basic capabilities should be prioritised to ensure a better quality of life.

Being employed or working, the realisation of the capability is a functioning. Your choice or the freedom to choose employment remains a kind of hypothetical situation. It is based on the different possibilities within the capability, and the achievement or then operationalisation of one of these opportunities is a functioning. However, "within the range

[12] Refer to respondent interview details and summary in the appendix for employment information

of the capability set, the individual can realise only one" of these opportunities (Lessmann 2012:102).

What if there are no opportunities available? No functionings can be realised, and the capability cannot be achieved? Within South Africa, there is often a reference to the 'official' and 'unofficial[13]' unemployment rates where the latter includes those individuals that have given up looking for a job entirely. The reason that they have given up on their search is because employment is not available. Thus, they cannot choose to have a job even if they would want one. Thus, employment opportunities, as a basic capability, is not possible. In other words, there is no opportunity to be employed. The limitation of options or choice in itself lowers the standard of living, not accounting for the shocking quality of life that someone has to lead without having some form of employment or financial support. Sen (1987a) illustrates this point when he describes fasting as only being fasting if the option to eat something is there; otherwise, it is starving. Therefore, I would make the argument that someone is only really unemployed (the basic capability completely lacking) if they have the option to be employed or to find employment. In a way, it is possible to say then that people are starving for the opportunity to work.

Another important point to emphasize again, and that the capability approach specifically highlights, is the importance of choice related to employment not only in terms of finding a job but being able to choose the type of job one wants (thus having options to realise different opportunities). Being employed is a functioning (a realisation of the capability), but we also know that within a capability there are different opportunity sets (or there ideally should be) available that translate into functionings. These different sets (functioning vectors) should represent the many opportunities (within a capability) that can be realised. Having the opportunities present within the basic capability of employment is only the start. When applying the capability approach, the focus is also on what people are *really* able to be and do (the "beings and doings"). It does not matter if the opportunities are present, but there is

[13] In South Africa someone is considered unemployed if they are actively looking for employment or have tried self-employment a few weeks before being interviewed. These people are often also referred to as the "seeking unemployed" and recorded in the official unemployment rates. A less strict definition refers to people who have lost hope and are not actively seeking any form of employment. They are referred to the "non-searching unemployed".

no possibility or means to take up any of them. For example, the respondents often shared stories of how their transport is more than a day's wage or that better employment opportunities can also come at other costs such as more travel time, less flexibility or stricter hours. It is often the case that people work to be able to afford to work.

Respondent 24 is from Newcastle and an out-sourced security guard at an engineering company. He complains about his pay especially since he has a family to support which includes his wife and his four sons (the older two have finished school and looking for employment opportunities while the younger two are still in school). He knows of a better-paying security job at a mine outside of town, but he cannot afford the additional R500 initially to pay for transport before he receives his paycheque at the end of the month. Also, although this is a better paying job, he will have to work longer hours as well as night shifts and weekends. It will also require him to carry a firearm and thus be certified to use it, which also costs money. He is also aware of the increased risk he faces in carrying a firearm, but that the potential increase in income outweighs this risk.

Respondent 24:	It's a nice site. I like it here but to be honest, when it comes to the salary, I'm not happy. But I have no choice because there, by the mine, it is no more. They are gone. There are other security companies, and I tried another guy who was working there. For the CV, he said to me I have to have a firearm certificate and competency. I don't have it at the moment
Interviewer	Is it expensive to get one?
Respondent	Not so much expensive, but I can't afford it now because of the salary I get, it gets finished before. It's little; it's little money. But I promise that guy that if I can get a chance, I'll do the certificate and the competency, and he gave me his number; he said when I am ready, I can phone him
Interviewer	Is it much more, the salary?
Respondent	The salary is much more there because that guy I was speaking to, I was working with him here. He was security; he was a supervisor. He used to come here to visit the site. Then he got the job there, at the mine with another company, but the salary was good. He told me. He came one day, driving his car. He said he is building his home. Yeah, I am

	happy because the site is right, and my boss is all right, and I don't have to work the night shift; I work a day shift which is nice. I don't have to leave my family, and when this company closed, I will do it. The only problem I am not happy with is the salary, but I will see when time goes on what happens
Respondent	If I get the firearm license and firearm training, then I go to the police station to get the competency. I don't know, maybe.
Interviewer	Can you shoot? Have you ever done that?
Respondent	No. No.
Interviewer	So where will you go? Who will teach you?
Respondent	I go to training. There are some training centres, yes. I'm scared too. I'm scared too, but you see when I was in Gauteng working for security, the money was a little bit good there, but when you have firearm certificate and competency, it's much better because the guys there, they end up getting 10 000 before deduction. Other companies 8000, 8700 at that time. I don't know now. And the other thing what makes me unsure, I didn't realise when I was in Joburg that I had to have this certificate even though I had to. Actually, I don't like to work with firearms. I don't like firearms. It's going to be night shift. And on weekends. A longer day and the mine is too far from my house. That guy told me that the cost - transport for the month goes close to R500 because you have to get private transport to take you. There are no taxis. But here it's better because here I use the bus coupon even though I get a little salary, but I do it to come to work because the bus coupon is cheaper. Its R360 per month

In Respondent24's case, although he has employment options (opportunities), he cannot choose to take up the 'better' job. There are other factors that need to be considered. To try and explain this, Otto et al. (2015) distinguish between conversion factors that can either be internal or external. Robeyns (2005) takes it further and distinguishes between three conversion factors, namely: personal characteristics (mentally and physically), social characteristics and environmental characteristics. In both instances, these characteristics

impact on one's ability to take up the opportunities that are presented within a capability. That is, to be able to realise the capability into functionings. Trying to work as an artist will be challenging without some skill or talent. Likewise, it would be difficult for a woman to work in a society where it is not the social norm for women to be employed. Also, applying for a job without personal transport is tricky, and comes at a cost, if it is located outside of the boundaries of the public transport system. Although it seems that there are opportunities and options available to Respondent 24, to be able to take up the opportunities or to make changes in his life, are more complex. His freedom to make a choice is constricted because of financial strain, and I would also argue because of the possibility of potentially being worse off than that they currently are and the fear that he would not be able to feed his family. Thus, to have a job and then a secure income and to really have the choice to choose this freely, a whole range of factors need to be present, and even if only one is missing, this means that a capability is then missed or out of reach.

Let us zoom in for a moment and focus on employment as a means to secure income to buy necessary commodities. Income and employment, to a certain extent, then also become commodities themselves (things to use). However, "having" a commodity is not enough. This is best illustrated through Sen's own example in relation to a bike. A person must be able to have the necessary skill to ride a bike. Also, societal norms must allow someone to ride a bike. There also has to be the necessary infrastructure (for example roads or bike paths) to be able to ride the bike. I am not saying that the commodification of work is a good thing, nor do I mean to imply that the capability approach suggests that this would be the ideal. I am merely using this to illustrate that even to achieve work only as a commodity, the capability approach already shows the complexity of such an achievement.

If we zoom out and focus on employment as a basic capability, we again must emphasise the importance of work to people overall. That working (a functioning) or the opportunity to work (a capability) ultimately improves someone's quality of life not only financially but in other aspects as well. Although I will elaborate on this point later in the chapter in terms of gendered work and clearly point out that work means much more than just an income, it is important to do this now to illustrate how many factors impact on people's choice or freedom of choice. Moving beyond employment as only a means to secure income also highlights the impact that Marx (1844) had on Sen, especially early on in terms of human freedom and

emancipation and the capability approach. Not only does a focus on employment as a capability to highlight the importance for people to be free to achieve the opportunities within a capability, but it also that this is related to freedom of choice. People can choose what they want to choose. However, as shown, the choice is often not possible or constricted by other factors. In the case of Respondent 24, to secure a better job and income, the respondent must be qualified to take the position (have firearm certification), he must be able to afford to travel to the new location or have access to public transportation.

According to Otto et al. (2015), the capability approach also has an 'empowerment side' where people can actively put themselves in a better position, and I would argue, increase their choice options within a capability. In other words, there is the possibility to improve conversion factors and use their achieved functionings to enhance the capabilities that people can access or have access too. The respondents not only linked a 'good' job to a better quality of life throughout the interviews but also highlighted the importance of education. Much in the same way as with employment, the opportunity to attain a level of education is a capability. Also, as noted already, it is framed as a basic capability within this research. Having an education, in turn, is functioning.

For the purposes of this study, the focus is on education since that it how it is phrased within the quantitative findings. However, within the qualitative findings I use education to mean any setting or situation where something is learnt whether formal (such as obtaining matric) or informal (such as learning on the job). It is not my position that a formal education should be seen as 'the' solution to poverty and inequality. Rather, this is a tone that was present in the interviews and that the only way out of poverty and from precarity is through 'education'. What kind of education and what you do with your education is rarely specified, but it mostly seems to be linked to the idea of a formal education and in the very least a finished high school certificate.

This then also links to how I talk about employment in the study which is once again mainly linked to how the respondents described what a 'good job' is, namely a well-paying, fulltime regulated position in the formal economy. By focusing on this type of employment in the discussion, I am in no way discounting the informal economy or ignoring the value of unpaid labour such as for example child rearing. This is placed front and centre in the study since this

is what the respondents focussed on and placed value on specifically as a means to overcome their precarity.

The interplay between education and employment is also a great example of the relationship between capabilities and functionings. It also highlights the importance of conversion factors once again. So not only does the opportunity have to exist to attain an education, the person must be mentally able to fulfil the necessary requirements. They must live in a society that values education and the necessary infrastructure such as a school, teachers or even transport to the school must be in place. In turn, having an education will greatly improve the opportunities afforded to someone within the capability of employment. This idea is often also shared by the respondents in the interviews: Having an education will lead to getting a secure and stable job that in turn, most probably lead to a good life. This sentiment was most often shared within the context of the respondents' hopes for their children and their future.

Respondent 24 quickly switched from talking about his own employment opportunities to talking about his two eldest sons.

Respondent 24	Ja, I was in Joburg. But the other one was born in '95. They're twenty-two and twenty-one. The first one is finished at school, he went to college[14] to do electrical engineering, and he passed nice, but nothing.
Interviewer	Is he still staying with you now?
Respondent 24	Yes, he is still staying with me. He is looking, yes, but not finding and the other one is sitting at home. He finished school, but he didn't go to college. He wanted to go to university, but I told him no I couldn't afford
Interviewer	Could you afford the college, or did he get a bursary?

[14] Within South Africa there are three bands of education: General Education (GE), Further Education training (FET) and Higher Education (HE)/Tertiary Education. GE refers to the first nine years of school education. FET consists of the three following years of schooling OR a related FET certificate and a technical college. HE usually relates to university level studies. When the respondents speak of college, they often mean an FET education. In text I use the same distinction to refer to college as FET and university or tertiary education as HE. Both colleges and universities are subsidised by government.

Respondent 24	The college is better because that big one, I didn't pay a cent there because the government through NSFAS, they help them with the fees for the studies and the transport
Interviewer	And he can stay at home, so you don't have to pay for the accommodation
Respondent 24	Yes, yes and I didn't have to give him money for transport. That's why he managed to finish in 3 years
Interviewer	So, the second boy, he is looking for a job now.
Respondent 24	Yes, yes
Interviewer	What kind of job is he looking for?
Respondent 24	It's difficult to tell because the first thing he said to me he wanted to be a paramedic. Yes, yes he still wants to do that because one day I heard him on the phone, he was talking to my sister-in-law. She is a paramedic. She promised that if something comes up, she can try to get some form. Nothing yet, it was last year. He even wants to go to be police. I was wondering because before he finished matric, I wanted to talk about the policeman and he said no I don't want to be police but now he says no, I can go there. I think to stay at home is not nice now.

Most of the respondents had children or cared for a child from their immediate family. Only three of the respondents had no children, where two of these three had also just left school. The respondents either shared their own struggle or that of their children in terms of the value of their Matric Certificate, their options in terms of furthering their education and the cost it would involve.

Two of Respondent 24's sons have matriculated and looking for employment. Their father has worked hard to secure an education for them and their younger siblings, but even with some tertiary qualifications, employment seems out of reach not even mentioning a secure well-paying job. When compared to their father who had to leave school in standard 8 (grade 10) because he had lost both of his parents and had younger siblings to look after, his sons should be in a better position when it comes to their choice of employment. Yet, it seems that they are also struggling and having to make tough choices or even sacrifices that they would not

otherwise want to do such as for example looking into working in the police force or trying out for a paramedic position in the city.

Here it seems that education, as a functioning, whether having an education or having tertiary qualifications, is simply not enough to secure employment. Within the capability of employment, the options seem to be less and not more. Their father with no education, but with work experience, has more options to choose from than the two sons when it comes to work possibilities. This is also a clear illustration of the overlap between functionings and capabilities and why it is important that we cannot focus on just one aspect of people's lives when trying to make sense of what it means to be precariously non-poor. It also highlights how basic capabilities impact on each other and that it is important to look at the complete picture. What also seems to become apparent, especially within the stories shared by the respondents, is that education might not be the means to secure employment or a better life.

This notion is summed up by Respondent 2 who lives in Wesbank, a part of the Cape Flats, in Cape Town. She has two daughters and three grandchildren whom she takes care of during the day and does other odd jobs to make ends meet.

Respondent 2 Ek dink maar net daar is nie werk nie. Want as daar is, kan jy mos 'n bietjie vorentoe. Geld verdien. [...]Vir my enige, enige werk, want daar sit my oudste dogter. Sy het dan matriek, maar sy kry niks. Hier val sy uit op 'n "cleaner" werk in Parow. Ook by 'n, ek dink dis ook by 'n, is dit nou 'n skool-besigheid waar sy ook nou net skoonmaak en so aan, maar sy het matriek. So ek voel in vandag se dag kan jy nie meer sê wat jy soek. [...] Jy moet vat wat jy kry.

Respondent 2 *I think that there is just not work. Because if there was, then you can go a little forward. Earn money. [...] For me, any job, because here my eldest daughter now sits, She has matric, but she is not fiding anything. Here she falls out with a cleaner job in Parow. Also at a, I think it is a school-business where she cleans and so, but she has matric. So I feel that in today's world you cannot say what you are looking for. [...] You have to take what you get.*

To further unpack this notion and the relationship between employment and education, it is necessary to shift our focus from education as a functioning to a capability (Burger et al. 2017; Nussbaum et al. 1993; Robeyns 2005). Focusing on the capability of education, we not only see why having an education (as a functioning) is not enough to secure employment for those in a precariously non-poor position, but also what the real opportunities in terms of education are that are available to someone living and growing up in a precariously non-poor household.

6.3 Education and the capability approach

Within the quantitative section, education showed a correlation with the poverty categories under discussion. It was also a topic that came up frequently during the in-depth interviews with the respondents. If the respondents were younger and childless, they would focus on their own education opportunities (or lack thereof). The older respondents with young children would often underscore how important their children's education is while the respondents with older children (young adults) would focus on the value (or lack thereof) of their children's education.

Respondent 21 is from Zimbabwe and has lived in Newcastle for fifteen years prior to the interview. She works as a cashier at a small shop. She shares a house with her two sisters and a brother. They are all working to make ends meet and send as much money they can home to support their elderly parents and their children. She and her siblings completed their education in in Zimbabwe, with she and her sister having what is equal to grade 10 and her brother is a qualified accountant.

> Respondent 21 The last born, she is a cashier, and my brother, the one who is here, he is an accountant. But now he can't get the job, so he is just working, doing deliveries, you know… Yeah, just any job. He is just delivering. If they send him to do this, he does this, do that, he does that. Even my big sister… Yeah, just anything. She's just doing anything she gets so that she puts food on the table

According to Unterhalter (2009:217), the work in terms of the capability approach and education can be grouped into three categories: Firstly, those who have applied the capability

approach to education by focusing on the value of education in terms of functionings, capabilities and conversion factors. Secondly, the overlap between the capability approach and human rights, equality or social justice. Lastly, those who use the capability approach to interpret the data for children and adults about the value of education. All these three outlooks are relevant to this research and will be used in the following section. I will also focus on education as a basic capability and specifically on the intersection of education with other basic capabilities.

So far, the focus has been on the capability of employment and the impact (if any) that education (as a functioning) would have on employment opportunities now. Rather than focus on the realisation, having an education, the focus is on the opportunity of getting an education. Unterhalter (2009:218) illustrates the difference between capabilities and functionings through an example: There are two thirteen-year-old girls from Kenya. They both took part in an international learning study, and they both failed mathematics. Girl One attended a school in Nairobi with qualified teachers keen to offer support. Regardless, Girl One still failed since she chose to spend less time on her mathematic studies and more time with her friends in the drama club. Girl Two attended a school in Wajir, one of the poorest areas in Kenya. She was a hard worker and showed interest in mathematics and schoolwork generally. She still failed, since her school lacked a good mathematics teacher and her parents could not afford the extra private lessons after school. They chose to prioritise her older brother's education, and Girl Two was rather expected to help with the housework and to look after her younger siblings. She, therefore, had little to no time to work on her mathematics studies at home. Unterhalter (2009) uses this example to show the difference between looking at a functioning versus a capability (what someone actually achieved versus what they were able to achieve within their opportunity set). In terms of functionings, both girls had the same outcome. However, their capabilities are very different. Ultimately, the point that Unterhalter (2009) makes is underwritten by equality and in order to understand equality we must take account of people's choices but also the freedom they had in the opportunities presented to them when they made their choices. Therefore, we cannot only focus on the educational resources available such as teacher availability, the quality of the learning, the teacher to pupil ratio, quality of learning materials, or the years of schooling completed. The important point that the capability approach highlights is whether (or not)

someone is able to convert the educational resources into capabilities and then in turn into functionings.

The respondents often shared stories of violence happening at the schools their children attend with classes then disrupted. Many of the respondents living in the Cape Flats (Manenberg and Wesbank) talked about the safety of their children in relation to the ongoing gang violence. Respondent 39, who lives in Khayelitsha, almost cried when she shared the story of her son (in Grade 12) being mugged on his way to school. He did not want to go to school after the incidence since he was afraid and because he had lost all his schoolwork that was saved on the stolen laptop. Clearly, it will be difficult to learn in such an environment and being afraid to attend school makes it more challenging to convert the educational resources available into capabilities. In some of the cases, the respondents also shared their unhappiness with regards to the teachers or the level of schooling.

Respondent 13 [Die skool is] nie baie goed nie, maar wat kan ek doen? Ek kan nie 'n ander skool bekostig nie. Dis te duur.

Respondent 13 *[The school is] not any good, but what can I do. I cannot afford another school. It is too expensive.*

Respondent 13 works as a domestic cleaner and travels long hours every day, between where she stays and her employer in Newcastle, to be with her family. Even taking into account all the sacrifices that she makes to try and secure a good education for her children, the options or the alternative opportunities within education, are out of reach. Even so, she remains optimistic about the value of education.

Onderhoudvoerder Wat is die slimste besluit wat julle al gemaak het met geld?

Respondent 13 Ek spaar vir die kinders se skool. Ek het nie genoeg om te spaar nie.

Interviewer *What is the smartest decision that you have made with money?*

Respondent 13 *I save for the children's school. I do not have enough to save*

It is clear from the respondents that education should be a basic capability and that it is necessary to achieve a good life. It does seem the opportunities within primary education is limited and that only having a matric certificate, does not bring you far. According to

Montenegro & Patrinos (2014), tertiary education shows the highest return costs (meaning to have a value greater than the input costs). This goes to show that the value that the respondents place on education is not misplaced. However, this is mostly true for tertiary education. Does it then follow that a primary education (basic matric/grade 12 certificate) is only of value if it can be used for further studies? It seems that way, especially if one considers the way that labour is changing with a focus on skilled labour within the context of globalisation and technological innovations. I would argue that in South Africa, having a matric certificate is on par with being unskilled labour. This is also mainly due to the high unemployment rate since there are no jobs to fill. So, to be able to have a good education, you need to have a tertiary education. What then are the opportunities available to be able to access further education? Especially if we consider Respondent 9 and her prediction of the future her youngest daughter will face even after graduating high school. Respondent 9 lives and works in Newcastle as a domestic cleaner and can only visit her children who live with their grandmother once a month, since it is a four-hour bus, round trip. She herself only completed Grade 10 and started working at sixteen. Her three older children completed school, and even though her eldest completed a course through Majuba FET College with an NFAS bursary, all the three children are unemployed. Respondent 9 recalls a conversation she had with one of her children about their school day.

Respondent 9	Eish, I am not sure about that, you know the school, that the teachers there are so lazy, they say we did not go to classes today the whole day, many times, we did not have school today. It is a big school. The one is in Grade 12 and is so hurried; she just wants to write [exams] now.
Interviewer	Will she also want to work or she is going to go to college? What do you think she is going to do?
Respondent 9	Eish, that's the problem. She is going to come to my job

It seems there is a cost involved to access education and that not any education will suffice. From the quantitative results, we know that the link between being poor and precariously non-poor is similar with regards to education. In a way, the only way to get a good education, it seems, is to buy it. It has been shown that within South Africa student fees increase faster than inflation (Cloete, 2016). It is more difficult for students from a poverty background (and

I would argue for the precariously non-poor as well) to graduate (reasons include for example the level of primary schooling they received related to the expectations at a tertiary institution or not being able to afford the necessities to survive day-to-day), and they are often revolved back into poverty when they cannot complete their studies. The Department of Education in their White Paper (1997) calls the NFAS (National Student Financial Aid Scheme) a "revolving door" where poor students have the opportunity to enter higher education, but if they fail to finish their studies, they are revolved back into poverty with the added burden of a student loan that they cannot afford to pay back because they have no means to secure employment. Undergraduates in South Africa not only have high drop-out rates and low graduation rates but they also often remain registered for periods much longer than are required to complete their studies (Spaull, 2015). Even if, like Respondent 24's eldest son who was able to use his school education (functioning) to secure further education opportunities by attending college through the support of a government bursary through NSFAS (National Student Financial Aid Scheme), this still does not mean that he will be guaranteed secure employment. In fact, his son is still unemployed with a college degree in Electrical Engineering. Instead of empowering these young people, they are worse off and with debt. Still, "access to higher education is regarded by the haves as a means of maintaining privilege and by the have-nots as a means of getting out of poverty" (Cloete 2016:4).

Pragmatically speaking education also comes with a multitude of hidden costs. And this is especially true in the case of the respondents and those who are precariously non-poor. There are school supplies, uniforms and necessities not to talk about the non-tangible cost involved, such as time and effort between working to keep children in school and safe at home. Respondent 11 works as a live-in domestic cleaner in Newcastle. Her best financial decision, according to her, has been not to make any debt. However, she adds that "Ek het nie skuld nie. Ek skuld net vir Jet. Ja, skoolklere , dis net Jet. Nou is dit groot skuld/I do not have any debt. I owe Jet. Yes, for school clothes, it is only Jet. Now it is a lot of debt". Respondent 2 reflects on dance, an unplanned for event financially, that the school her granddaughter goes to will be hosting.

Respondent 2 Maar die onderwyser sê vir jou: "Jy moet 'n plan maak." Hulle soek daai R500. Nou sê ek nou. Nou weet jy nie waar om daai te kry nie. Die ma werk, haar ma

werk, maar die salaris wat sy verdien, vir ‘n week, is R600. Nou die “taxi-fare” moet daaruit kom, van haar. Nou kan sy eenslag daai R500 , moet, anderste moet sy dit maar afbetaal. En onthou, daai kind makeer mos nou ‘n ordentlike rok, en jy moet hom opdoen, en hy makeer ‘n skoen, hy makeer ‘n kar wat vir hom moet nou ry a die plek toe, en al daai. Ons het Donderdagaand, het ons ‘n vergadering gehad, by die skool. [...]Daar was baie wat gekla het. Hulle het nie vervoer nie. Dan moet hulle maar ‘n bus gee, dan moet hulle ‘n bus gee. Nou ek het ook gevoel, ek het ook gepraat volgens ‘n bus. Gee dan nou die bus, maar dan moet die geld nou maar opgemaak maak word, daai R500,. Hy moet in nou “August”, die einde van “August”, die R500 [betaal]... Hulle is opgewonde... En nou die kind kan nie verstaan waar gaan die ouer nou daai geld, so vinnig en haastig kry? Wat ek nou gaan doen is, sy het, ek het ‘n “list” gekry by die skool. Ek het ‘n “list” gevra. Laat wanneer sy nou maar so beweeg, laat sy kan kyk of die mense nie maar ‘n ou R2’tjie, of ‘n ou R1’tjie kan opsit...

Respondent 2 *But the teacher says:”You have to make a plan”. They want the R500. Now I say. Now I don’t know where to get it. Her mom works, but the salary that she earns, for a week is R600. Now the taxi-fare has to come out of that as well. Now she can’t at once afford R500 otherwise she has to pay it off. And also remember that that child needs a presentable dress and you have to make them up and they need shoes and they need transport to the place, all of that. We had a meeting on Thursday at the school. [..] .There were many that complained: They don’t have transport. Then they have to give a bus, for transport, they must give a bus. Now I also felt I also talked about a bus. Give the bus, but then that money also has to be saved up. He has to now in August, the end of August, he has to pay the R500... They are excited... And the child cannot understand that the parent can’t get the money so quickly. What am I going to do? I got a list from the school. I asked for a list. When she is walking around, then she can ask people for a R2 or a R1 donation.*

Respondent 2 highlights the cost and effort necessary for her granddaughter to attend a school dance. What is also striking in her story is the apparent anxiety and emotional burden

of not being able to afford the things that her granddaughter needs for the school dance. It might be easy to comment on this and say that it is not an educational necessity for her granddaughter to attend a dance, but that misses the point of education within the capability approach. Education as a basic capability encompasses all opportunities, and if her granddaughter wants to attend, in other words, the choice is made, and the opportunity presents itself, then she should be able to do so. Also, what we learn at school is more than what is found in textbooks (see for example Spaull 2013; Gohlich & Bremser 2016; Hartman et al. 2017; Fink et al. 2019). There are social norms and other rules regarding how to conduct yourself as well as creating a strong sense of belonging through friendships or finding special interests. It is important to remember that within the capability approach and specifically with reference to a good quality of life, education is a basic capability and therefore a necessity to having a good life. This means that all aspects of education are important, especially what is believed to be important by the individual as it is their choice to make. Therefore, if the Respondent 2's daughter wishes to attend the dance and not feel left out, this is exactly what the capability approach is able to capture. Not only is it important that she have the opportunity to attend, but that she is able to take up the opportunity (with a pretty dress to share in the excitement with her friends).

It seems that you need to be able to afford a good education. Again, this highlights the interplay and overlap between education and employment as basic capabilities. In a sense, one is not possible to achieve without the other. Parents cannot afford the education opportunities (in terms of money, but also in terms of time and effort) their children need in order to secure a better future if they unemployed or precariously employed. Not only does education mean that your chance for a prosperous future, but it also plays a role in the expansion of other capabilities. According to Saito (2003:27-29), the idea of expansion is related to someone's abilities and capacity. He uses the example of Kate that learns how to swim. Consequently, education enables Kate to have the ability to swim. Education should also expand one's autonomy and freedom. This is I think one of the most vital points to be made in terms of the capability approach and education: education should act to give people more freedom to live the life they choose. Dropping out of college of university with huge student debt leads to less freedom and definitely less freedom of choice. Not being able to pass mathematics because you do not have a mathematics teacher is constricting not only

one's capability presently but will minimize the choices someone has later also if we take this example further. You will not be able to take up other opportunities like for example if you do not understand mathematics something like physics will be challenging also. Already, not only are the current opportunities limited, so also are future possibilities linked to employment. This explains the overt consequences, but there are other factors like someone's confidence and even a sense of accomplishment that is not as easily accounted for when lost.

Clearly, the respondents echo Nussbaum (2011) who notes that education has a significant role to play and is a prerequisite for truly human life. Indeed, Sen (1992: 44) describes education as one of a "relatively small number of beings and doings that are crucial to well-being". I think that this is most clearly articulated by the respondents when they speak of the future and specifically the future they want for their children. Respondent 5 also emphasises the importance of education in relation to a secure future. He worked as a security guard at a private hospital. He has been looking for a job for over a year now after being retrenched and has not found anything permanent but has worked on and off. Currently, his wife is the breadwinner and works as a domestic helper and helps out with her eldest daughter from a previous relationship and her two grandchildren as well as their two daughters. The eldest daughter does work on an ad hoc basis also as a domestic cleaner when she finds work.

Respondent 5 Nee, nee, nee, ek het nou eendag toe sê ek vir hulle: "Jou skoolloopbaan is jou toekoms en as jy jou toekoms opmors, kan ek nie daarvoor [help]" Ek het hulle geleer om verandwoordelikheid te aanvaar. So jy kan nie vir ,my, as jy nie 'n sukses maak van jou skoolloopbaan nie, kan jy nie sê: "Maar Mammy het nie belanggestel nie, of Daddy nie." Ons help hulle baie keer met die Wiskunde ook. [...] Huidiglik, huidiglik bereik jy niks as jy nie geleerd is, geleerdheid het nie. Geleerdheid is die belangrikste deel van die res van jou lewe en as jy daar "flop", dan "flop" jy, jou toekoms. Sien en dit is wat ek vir hulle gesê het. Ek het gesê: "Jy het jou toekoms in jou hande. As jy 'n 'flop' maak, dis jou toekoms wat jy weggooi." Ek het hulle sommer teen baie dinge gewaarsku. Ek het hulle gesê, toe sê ek: "As jy nou hier, voor die tyd, met 'n kleintjie gaan sit, dis nie my kleintjie nie." Ek het my ander kinders, wat uitgetroud is, ek het hulle reguit gesê: "Ek het nie kleinkinders nie. Jy het

kinders, ek het nie kleinkinders nie. Ek maak kinders groot en die wat kinders, kleinkinders het, is ek niks met die kleintjie."Hierdie een ook, ek het haar gewaarsku. Toe hierdie enes kom het ek haar gewaarsku: "Ek het nie kleinkinders nie." Dit is wat ek in hulle ingedril het. Jy sien, by ons gemeenskap het hulle dit van, "dis nou my kleinkinders en wat", toe sê ek net: "Ek kan nie versterk in die sonde nie." Nee, daai het ek by hulle ingedril.

Respondent *No, no, no, I said to them one day: "Your schooling is your future, and if you mess up your future, I can't help you". I want them to accept their responsibility. So you can't, when you have not made a success of your schooling, you can't say: "Mommy was not interested or Daddy". We help them often with mathematics as well. [...] Currently, currently you achieve nothing if you aren't educated. Education is the most important part of the rest of your life and if you flop then you flop your future. See, and this is what I told them. I said: "Your future is in your hands. If you flop, it is your future that you are throwing away". I warned them about many things. I said to them:"If you now, ahead of the time, sit with a kid, it is not my child". I have my other children that are married; I said to them: "I don't have grandchildren. You have children; I don't have grandchildren. I raise children and those who have children, grandchildren; I am nothing of that child". This one too, I warned her. When these came along, I warned her: "I don't have grandchildren". This is what I drilled into them. You see, in our community, they have this thing this is your grandchildren, and then I just say" "I can't support them in their sinful ways". No, that I drilled into them.*

Education is seen as a necessity: it is essential to be educated in order to stay out of poverty and to have a secure future; otherwise, you will be a 'flop'. Thus, the precariously non-poor face this double burden and I would argue rather walk the line between poverty and their current financial position. It seems though, that even if education becomes a functioning (the capability is realised), that secure employment still remains just out of reach. Or in some cases, the focus shifts from education being the only means to escape poverty to then finding a 'good' job. Nonetheless, the ultimate goal remains to have a secure future, and this means becoming middle class.

According to Wheary (2009:75), the middle class can be defined as a consumer group, but more importantly, they signify an escape from poverty, secure employment and socio-political stability. This overlaps with what has been highlighted by the respondents and with what has been discussed thus far. However, Burger et al. (2017) note that the 'middle class' gets murkier as a concept when applied in developing countries like South Africa because those that creep into the middle class are often in contradiction to this traditional definition and not skilled have no tertiary education and challenged by limited life choices. So, although the precarious non-poor aspire to be prosperous or in other words, securely middle class, the reality might not turn out to be what they wanted. In terms of the capability approach, this aspiration is in line with the final objective, which is to have a good life (built from achieving capabilities in terms of functionings). Sadly, the limited life choices as we have seen thus far coincides with the reality the respondents face. They have limited choices and even less freedom to make these choices. In fact, there is not so much a choice to be made, but sacrifices. Also, what is striking is that their lack of choice is often framed as their own fault. That is, they are 'a flop', and therefore, their life is 'a flop'.

Respondent 28's two adult sons still live at home in Manenberg, a suburb in Cape Town. She is unemployed, and her husband is recently retired receiving a pension through the company he previously worked for (although form her description if her husband had a choice, he would still be working every day). Their sons are employed but on the lookout for better job choices. She highlights that her one son is excited about the job he has now (because it is a job), but that he is still looking for a 'better' opportunity.

Respondent 28 Die een werk vir Intercape, die jongste een. Hy werk by hulle workshop by Airport Industria – SA Coach and Truck. Hy doen "auto electrician" daar by hulle en dan die ander een, hy soek maar werk. Hy het nou 'n werk wat hy eintlik nou by 'n "warehouse" doen. Ja, hy doen "warehouse" nou wat hy baie opgemaak is oor, want hy was vir 'n lang tyd sonder werk.

The one works for Intercape, the youngest one. He works at their workshop at Airport Industria-SA Coach and Truck. He does auto electrician there and then the other one, he's looking for work. He has a job now at a warehouse.

Yes, he is doing warehousing now, which he is very excited about because he was without work for a very long time.

I agree with Egdell & Mcquaid (2016:1) who note that a "more capability informed approach to employment activation would not measure success solely by the transition into work, but rather by whether it has improved the young person's capabilities". Although they focus mainly on employment opportunities, I think that this idea can be applied to most capabilities and is definitely true in the case of education as well. It highlights, once again, the overlap and interplay between the different capabilities, and I would add specifically between basic capabilities like education and employment. According to Respondent 28, her sons do not yet have a secure future since she explicitly links having a better job to a better future. The same logic that was used by Respondent 5 is now used again but in terms of employment. Without a 'good' job, you will not have a secure future.

She wants them to gain security and move out and get on with their lives. This is something she mentions, specifically, when she talks about the employment opportunities available to her two sons, aged twenty-five and twenty-eight. She links having a secure job and specifically a well-paying job to them being able to have a family and a home. It seems that Respondent 28's sons cannot choose better jobs while at the same time, they have to be happy (and thankful) for what opportunities and choices they do have. This is a strange tension that is at work where employment as a functioning (having a job) almost constricts employment as a capability (the opportunity to have a better job). It is almost as if once you have a job, the lack of opportunities (and not more opportunities) within employment as a capability become more apparent and the other capabilities that are linked to employment also seem more out of reach. These insecure and often underpaying job opportunities are not enough to have security or to move on to a better life. In this case, it is a mother's wish for her sons to be able to have their own families in their own homes.

Respondent 28 Nee, ek sal so graag dit wil verander: huis, getroudes, maar nee. Hulle is nog altwee, bly hulle nog altyd hier. Die klein kinders is by die Ma's, maar dis die jongste seuns se kinders. Dis nie al twee sin nie.

No, I would really like to change it: a house, marriage, but no. They are both; they are still staying here. The grandchildren are with the mothers, but it is the youngest son's children. Not both of theirs.

Not only is having a job important, but also the type of job. A good job is linked to financial security, and this, in turn, means that there is future stability.

Respondent 28 Hy het baie haartseer gekry het. Die meisie het, sy het hulle baba abort en hy kon nie, nou hoekal die 25ste is dit nou al twee jaar en hy sukkel nog met dit. Hy kan nie aanbeweeg en niks vetroue in vroumense nou. Op die tyd toe hulle twee, hulle was vir vyf jaar saam. Hy was, soos ek sê, was hy werkloos op die tyd en sy was 'n meisietjie wat studeer, ek dink nie sy't klaar gemaak nie, maar sy was besig om te studeer en in die tussen tyd het sy ou toe, ek dink, begin 'n bietjie moeg raak vir die feit dat hy net nie aan 'n werk kan kom en dis dinge wat ek vir hom gesê het. 'n Vrou soek vir sekuriteit, sy soek vir baie ander dinge in 'n verhouding en as jy dit nie kan gee, dan sal sy ongelukkig aanbeweeg. Maar net die manier hoe sy dit gedoen het. Toe die ding nou gebeur toe gebruik sy dit nou daai as 'n rede – hy het nie 'n werk nie en hy bly nog met sy ouers en al die dinge en sy sien nie kans vir 'n baba nie.

He was hurt badly. The girl, she aborted their baby and he, the 25th it will be two years, and he is still struggling with it. He cannot move on, and he has no trust in women now. At the time they, they were together for five years. He was, like I was saying, unemployed and at the time she was a girl that was studying, I don't think she finished, but she was busy studying and getting tired of the fact that he was not getting on with things and that is what I told him. A woman looks for security, she looks for many other things in a relationship, and if you cannot give it, then she will, unfortunately, move on. But it was the way she did it. When this thing happened, she used it as a reason. He does not have a job, and he is still living with his parents and all these things, and she does not want to deal with a baby.

It is important to highlight that, according to Respondent 28, the young woman chose to abort her pregnancy because she was a student and because the father of the child was not in a position to take care of her and the baby. Again, even though indirectly, the emphasis is put on the importance of education and employment. However, this time, what is highlighted are the severe choices that must be made in order to have the opportunities set out in these basic capabilities. I cannot speak to the young woman's experience directly since she was not available to speak to me when I made contact. Also, it is not within the scope of this thesis to unpack the ideas of abortion in terms of a constitutional right and issues of capability related to justice (see for example Dixon & Nussbaum 2011). However, I think that the way that Respondent 28, a woman herself, frames the choice and the reason behind it, is still very important to our discussion. It is also in line with the findings of the quantitative chapter and echoes what the other respondents shared. It highlights the very different lived experience of being precariously non-poor and a woman.

6.4 Women and the capability approach

Although I did not initially set out to focus on gender as an important capability, it continuously kept working itself into the conversations with the respondents and thus became an important theme to unpack. It seems that being a woman necessarily means facing extra challenges in relation to precarity overall, but also in terms of things like employment and education. Many of the respondents dropped out of school after falling pregnant and they often shared their stories of broken moments of employment due to pregnancy and childcare responsibilities often with missing partners and fathers. The respondents echoed this sentiment continuously during the in-depth interviews and the women often talked about their role in keeping themselves out of poverty as well as their families. This was also confirmed within the quantitative results that showed a correlation (even though weak) between gender and someone's poverty category. Based on the results and the stories shared by the respondents, it seems that the burden of poverty and then precarity falls mostly on women.

In fact, this is unfortunately not the exception to the rule, and according to the Human Development Report 1997 of the United Nations Development Programme, no country in the

world treats women the same as men (their measures included looking at for example life expectancy, education and wealth). Nussbaum (2000:2) also further emphasises that this is even more concerning in developing countries where gender inequality is "strongly correlated with poverty". It is also this combination, of gender and inequality, that often contributes to a failure of basic capabilities. The capability approach is also able to highlight the different way in which women experience poverty, and in this case, it can specifically be related to their precarious non-poor experience. According to Chant (2010:8), the responsibility to manage poverty usually falls on the women, and I would argue that this is also true in the case of the respondents and for the PNP. It "entails hard, complex, time-consuming and exhausting labour burdens, often little alleviated by state support". This is also reiterated by Rapp (1982) who notes that "it is women who bridge the gap between what a household's resources really are and what a family's position is supposed to be" (1982:57). This tension between being a woman, and the choices or opportunities that are available in terms of keeping a family intact and fed, is a theme that recurred in the interviews.

To make sense of this extra burden carried by women, it is necessary to give a recap of the history of the division of labour. Historically the classical economist like Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill had no real interest in the gender-based division of labour and most probably paid no attention to it since it was assumed to be a natural occurrence. Emile Durkheim does address the social division of labour in his book *De la division travail social* (1922), although a gendered based division of labour is only mentioned twice. He does, to a certain extent, note the importance of domestic labour. However, it is a means to an end, to let the family unit function seamlessly and is not a means onto itself. It was only when feminist economists started arguing that a gender-based division of labour is neither natural or a social given, but the result of how society is structured and the related social norms, that it started to be understood as an issue that is related to justice.

Lately Feminist scholars have moved away from this idea that women face a double or triple oppression, but rather moved to describe women's experiences through an Intersectional Feminism. It is a term first used by Kimberlé Crenshaw to describe how women face inequality across race and gender, but to also highlight that other factors such as for example class and sexuality can overlap and lead to compounding experiences of discrimination (Crenshaw, 2017). According to Crenshaw (2017) people's social identities rather overlap and therefore

so too do their experiences. It is not just that black women face inequality based on their gender and then based on their race, but that these inequalities overlap and build on each other. It is the experience of overlapping and parallel forms of oppression. I would argue that in terms of the precariously non-poor women that their precarious position adds another layer to their experience of oppression. In the section that follows, other inequalities that women face will be unpacked, by using the capability approach. In other words, the lacking capabilities that women face all add layers to their experience of oppression overall.

This is also where the capability approach has an important role to play in our understanding of what it means to be precariously non-poor and a woman. Here the work of Martha Nussbaum is particularly invaluable, specifically her contribution in terms of women and justice. Nussbaum, it can be argued, takes a harder stance in relation to capabilities and the necessity of basic capabilities, which she calls "central capabilities", to living a good life than perhaps Sen. I think that one of the reasons that she argues that certain capabilities should be seen as essential is because, without fair access to these capabilities, people are being done an injustice. Although both Sen (1990) and Nussbaum (2000) emphasise the impact that the socio-normative environment has on the real choices and opportunities that are available to people (and here we want to focus on specifically, women), it is mostly Nussbaum that takes the stance that not being able to access capabilities because of your gender is unjust.

Knobloch (2014) notes that a gender-based division of labour is hierarchical, patriarchal and asymmetric and thus related to a question of justice. "Taking the gender-based division of labour for granted, therefore, would leave the underlying problems of justice invisible"(2014:199). What is important is not that labour is divided, rather what is significant is that when it is, it is according to gender. Thus, according to feminist economists, there is income-generating labour, and there is household labour with both being equally important within our economy. Flavio & Nussbaum (2014) further elaborate on this point and further that "women do often have a 'double day', which means doing paid work as well as being responsible for the housework and other unpaid work". Women walk the line daily between paid and unpaid labour or are mediators between then the formal market and the informal market economy (Busch-Lüty et al. 1994: 7). An appealing way to talk about the 'work' that usually falls on women is to use the third-person criterion coined by Margaret Reid (1934). If a third person can be hired to complete the activity or task, then it is considered labour. For

example, making a bed is considered labour while sleeping is not. “Neglecting the maintenance economy with all its time-consuming work means living in an imaginary world, where tables fill themselves, dishes wash themselves, the sick and old care for themselves, children educate themselves and so on” (Knobloch, 2014). Also, women’s families can often limit them in many ways, “by assigning them to unpaid work with low prestige; by denying them equal opportunities to outside jobs and education; by insisting they do most or all of the housework and child care even when they are also earning wages” (Nussbaum 1992:2)[15]. This is important to understand in the context of intersectionality: this added burden of unpaid labour is only one aspect in which women are being oppressed. Added to this their class, which here would be understood as their precarious non-poor position, as well as their race because they are black (as highlighted in the quantitative section). The context of a post-apartheid South Africa still coming to terms with a hegemonic dominant white male ideal that apartheid was built around and a current government that has pivoted from a more socialist focus to a neo-liberal focus only further entrench and often obscure the levels of inequality that women face. Women’s ability to make choices are impacted by each of these inequalities.

Respondent 13, who works as a cleaner in Newcastle, reflects on her life and illustrates some of the challenges she has faced, and the impact that having children at a young age had on the choices that she was able to make.

Respondent 13 Ek dink dit was 2008 toe is ek siek en swanger en my kind was dood gebore. Ek het my ma gemis. My ouma het my groot gemaak. Daardie tyd toe maak sy my baie seer. Sy het nie gekom om my te troos nie. Ek wou met haar praat soos n dogter. Ek het haar gemis. Sy het nie met my kom praat nie. Al het ek ‘n Ma , maar sy het nie kom praat nie. Sy het hier gewerk maar sy is nou by die huis op pensioen. Toe kom ek skool toe op Osizweni op 4 jaar oud to graad 10 toe kry ek n baba [dogtertjie] toe gaan ek nie meer skool nie. Jy weet mos. Toe se my ma jy is nou groot toe se sy ek moet gaan. My hart was seer. Maar

[15] There is much more written on ‘care’ and the related difficulties of what it means ‘to care’ and ‘for who’ ‘by who’. See for example: Tronto n.d.; Kittay 2013; Folbre 1994; Gheaus & Robeyns 2011

	ek het my man gehad. Hy het die kind ondersteun. Toe 1994 toe kry ek nog n baba.
Onderhoudvoerder	Van dieselfde pa?Toe bly julle saam?
Respondent	Ja soos familie...Nee. In 1994, ek dink dis in Junie toe sterf hy , hy was gestamp met die kar. Ek was baie hartseer. My ouma het na my kinders gekyk en gesê ek kan 'n werk gaan soek...My Ouma, sy was baie goed vir my... Ja toe moes ek werk soek. Ja ek het by ander mense gewerk en na kinders gekyk. Tot 1998 toe kry ek weer n outjie. Toe 1998/99/2000 toe word ek weer swanger [met] baba 3. Toe 2001 en 2002 was goed. 2003 toe begin [my laaste twee kinder se pa] kontrak werk. Hy werk in Vryheid en Johannesburg. 2006 was baie swaar. Toe kry hy 'n ander meisie en begin rondslaap, to kon ek nie meer nie. Maar hy kom huistoe, kom en gaan elke keer. Toe 2007 word ek weer swanger toe kry ek baie stres. Ek was baie bang. En sien baie mense is dood aan AIDS. Toe besluit ek toe my kind dood gebore was, die verpleegster het gesê omdat ek so gestres is en ek het hoë bloed, toe dink ek ek kan nie meer nie. Toe hou ek op met die liefde. Ek maak nou net my kinders groot
Onderhoudvoerder	Hoe oud is sy kind nou?
Respondent	15
Onderhoudvoerder	Help hy?
Respondent	Nee, hy loop rond
Respondent 13	*I think that it was 2008, I was sick and pregnant and I had a stillbirth. I missed my mother. My grandmother raised me. At that time, she really hurt me. She did not come to console me. I wanted to talk to her like a daughter. I missed her. She did not come to talk to me. Even though I had a mother, she did not come. She worked around here, but now she is at home on a pension. I came to school in Osizweni at 4 years old, and in grade 10, I had a baby [girl], and I couldn't go to school anymore. Like you know. Then my mother said, your a grown-up now and she said that I must go. My heart was very sore, but I had*

	my husband. He looked after the child. Then in 1994, I had another baby.
Interviewer	*From the same father? And you lived together?*
Respondent	*Yes, like family... In 1994, I think, he passed away in June, he was hit by a car. I was very sad. My grandma looked after my children and said that I had to go look for a job... My grandma was very good to me... Yes, I had to look for a job. Yes, I worked for other people and looked after their children. In 1998 I had another child. Then in 1998/99/2000, I got pregnant again [with] the third baby. Then in 2001 and 2002, it was all good. In 2003 [my last two children's father] started working on contract. He worked in Vryheid and Johannesburg. 2006 was tough. Then he got a girlfriend and started sleeping around. But he came home, came and went each time. Then in 2007, I fell pregnant again, and I had a lot of stress. I was very afraid. And I see a lot of people are dying from AIDS. Then I decided when I had the stillbirth; the nurse said it was because I was so stressed and I had high blood pressure, then I thought I couldn't anymore. Then I stopped with love. Now I only focus on my children.*
Interviewer	*How old is his child now?*
Respondent	*15*
Interviewer	*Does he help?*
Respondent	*No, he sleeps around*

Another important aspect that is especially relevant to the respondents and their experiences that further illustrates the level of inequality that women face, the type of work that is available to women specifically. "Jobs done by women are often paid less and have lesser reputation than men's jobs" (Knobloch 2014:198). The employment opportunities available to Respondent 13 as a young mother were probably very different from that of a young father. This is then also if we assume both have a similar educational background. If we further take into consideration that Respondent 13 had to leave school because she got pregnant, her options further dwindle.

Most often the female respondents were employed as cleaners, domestic workers, packers or working in low-level retail. Their partners, husbands and the male respondents, however, were not necessarily better off in terms of the type of labour that they had access to. If they had work, it was mostly as security guards, gardeners or in warehousing or construction. The overarching characteristics of most of the employment types that were available to the respondents were that the work was part-time, not skilled, often underpaid, and most often not really regulated.

Respondent 3 lives in Delft, Cape Town. She is a trained clothing machinist but lost her job when the factory closed and then was only able to find odd jobs. Currently, she is unemployed and looking after her children at home. Her husband works as a security guard, but on an ad hoc basis and she and he have a very strained relationship since according to her, he rather spends his earnings on gambling or drinking with his friends.

Respondent 3 En hier's baie mense [met] talent, wat ook hier is. Wat huise kan bou en dinge, wat ook sit sonder werk. Maar die maklikste werk gryp is dan nou "domestic" nou, want daai is darem elke dag se brood. Verstaan, [jy]? Want hulle sê mos: "Ons gaan 'char[16]' nou." Dis wat hulle dit hier in die Kaap noem, gaan 'char'. Jy gaan vir daai dag uit en jy kry 'n huis [om skoon te maak], dan kan jou familie darm eet. Ja, daarom is dit nou so beroemd, die 'char'. Hier in die Kaap, ja.

Respondent 3 *And there's a lot of people with talent, that are also here. That can build houses and things but are sitting without work. But the easiest job to get is domestic because that is at least bread every day. Do you understand? Because they say: "We 'char' now". That is what they say here in the Cape, you go 'char'. You go out that day, and you get a house [to clean] and then at least your family can eat. Yes, that is why it is so popular the 'char'. Here in the Cape, yes.*

[16] 'Char' (charring/ to char) means to "work as a cleaning woman" according to the Miriam Webster Dictionary (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/char)

The female respondents often shared accounts about being the breadwinner with their partners either unemployed or unavailable. This is similar to what Phillips (2011) found in her anthropological investigation of domestic workers in Hammanskraal, an informal settlement close to Pretoria. According to her, the family networks were mostly "female-dominated, cross-generational and 'child-centred'; while a male presence is—quite importantly and interestingly—often peripheral and fleeting" (Phillips 2011:29). Another point that was highlighted by Phillips (2011) that also often came up with the respondents is that the lack of men or their sudden departure often served as the catalyst for them to take up the domestic work. This usually also coincides with a pregnancy and the advent of motherhood. However, it seems that this is not only true for domestic workers, but rather for most of the respondents in terms of employment opportunities. It is clear that the respondents often had little choice in terms of the type of employment that they could take up. Not only was it because they were black women, but in many instances, it was because that were young black mothers. Following from intersectional feminism it is clear that each step, being black, being a woman and being a mother, all add an extra burden to carry and inequality to try and overcome.

Having to work is necessary to survive, and the type of employment falls away as an important criterion, but it also means that their children are often looked after by family and often not where they stay. Many of the respondents shared stories of themselves being raised by their grandmothers or their own children living with their grandmothers. In certain cases, it was also the grandmother that was working to maintain her own children and grandchildren. The men in their lives were either unemployed, written out of their narrative or passed on. If the fathers and partners were employed, the relationship was often strained or skewed according to who had the money.

Respondent 16 lives in Newcastle and is a single mother with two primary school-aged children. Their father is in and out of the children's lives, sometimes contributing financially; however; this seems to be a rare and unsteady occurrence.

Respondent 16 No, I failed matric…I have grade 11. When I'm at school, I failed matric because I'm pregnant. After that, I work at HairCraft for the hair. I wash

> the hair, and I put the colours, and after that, I clean the house for people like a cleaner. In 2013, I came here and started to work at the pastry chef. I started washing the dishes. I learnt and I am baking now.

For the precarious non-poor respondents, another deciding factor that necessitated women entering the workforce was when their partners were suddenly unemployed. This shock to the household meant that the women had to enter the workforce, but that they were often less skilled, less educated than their partners or in the very least lacked work experience. Their choice to work and their choice to what type of work they can do is limited or often not even a choice at all. “Mothers, especially single-parent households, are burdened with the exclusive responsibility of nurturing their children, even though they may no longer be willing to sacrifice their individual freedom unconditionally for their progeny” or be able to (Bourgois 1997:260).

The respondents also often reflected on the ‘good times’ where their partner was employed, and they were able to work part-time but still be available to their children. These economic activities fall within the informal economy and included, for example, running a tuck shop, baking cakes for sale or even babysitting younger children during the morning while their own children were in school. However, once the women had to become part of the labour force formally, these ‘extras’ would fall away. I think that often it was also quite simply the fact that there was no money to support these ‘extra’ endeavours like, for example, having the means to buy stock for the tuck shop or ingredients for a cake. Respondent 1 would bake and even sometimes cater for small events like, for example, a funeral for extra income. However, the fuse in her oven burnt out, and she now cannot fix it. The possibility of extra income is put on hold, and I would argue that her financial position will most probably only further deteriorate. Thus, even if there was the opportunity for extra income in the informal economy, there still needs to be some kind of support (often financial but often also in terms of time) to keep it going and often that means that one party in the household has to be more formally employed.

In terms of the capability approach, being employed is not the achievement of a positive capability, but rather a necessity for survival. According Sharaunga & Mudhara (2021:128) “the main reason why women dominate the poor is that they engage in low paying income

activities. They engage in informal activities without adequate resources or formal training, and their interest is simply in survival". The amount of choice, that specifically women have, with regards to their choice of employment is lacking, and it also takes away from the 'work' that they do as mothers. Put another way, if work is seen as a need/want, it does not have to be either necessary or useful. Lessmann (2012) states, "[w]ork can neither be seen as a mere bad nor as a mere good". Early on Sen (1975) already differentiates between the income aspect of labour, the production aspect of labour and then the recognition aspect of labour. Take the example of a stay at home mother; she is reproducing her labour as well as raising the future labour force (Becker, 1976) and as such, very necessary and useful. However, this still does not account for her worth within the home and the family. Also, she can spend an entire day not doing any "work" such as cooking or cleaning and still be and feel invaluable to her family. Poverty and being in a precarious position often undermine this aspect of women's work since they cannot live up to the social norms of being a 'good mother' and raise healthy and happy children while struggling to make ends meet. Thus, I would argue that being able to be to 'work', as a 'good mother', falls under the basic capability of employment. Also, the recognition from your family and the sense of pride that comes from knowing that you are a 'good mother' are also capabilities that are essential to overall wellbeing.

Respondent 10, who works as a live-in domestic worker in Newcastle, sums up this idea although in jest.

Respondent 10 No, I cook here for the whole week, so when I am home I told them: "Ah-a! I'm here for rest not to cooking-cooking!" (giggles)

This brings us back to a division of labour and ideas related to what it means to be a family:

> "A just society faces the task to make visible and critically examine its underlying gender order and related asymmetries. Therefore, institutions such as the nuclear family need to be examined and justified. It has to be discussed, for example, what might be the consequences for people's capacities and abilities of being raised, or not raised, in a nuclear family". (Knobloch 2014:205)

A nuclear family, which is often tipped as the social ideal to live up too, means that women, wives and mothers are traditionally found inside of the home while men, husbands and

fathers work outside of the home and thus creating a division of labour (Rapp 1982:53). After his research in the Copperbelt region, Ferguson made the case that "the nuclear family became for some both an object of fantasy and a symbol of a comfortable, respectable, up-to-date Christian middle-class life" (1999:175). Giddens takes this idea further stating that "families that did not conform to the white, suburban, middle-class 'ideal' were seen as deviant" (2001:175). Although in South Africa "the nuclear family household represents a minority of all households, [this] is not evidence that it does not predominate" or that it should be ignored when we think about what someone would choose within a capability set in terms of what it means to have a good life (Ziehl 2006:98). Rapp also explains that the nuclear family (and here the especially related to the precarious non-poor) are "formed via marriage, which links men and women 'for love' and not 'for money'… [O]ne must work for the sake of the family, and having a family is the 'payoff' for leading a good life" (1982:54). Thus, to live a good life, one must be able to have a good family and part of that means being a good husband/ father and wife/mother. "While there is now a widespread recognition among scholars that meanings and experiences of motherhood vary across race, class, sexuality, and other social identities, many scholars continue to universalize motherhood as a relatively stable, privileged identity"(Mcqueeney & Aiello, 2019). Still, not all women can call themselves 'good mothers'. What it means to be a family, and especially a good mother, becomes rewritten by the respondents although still trying to adhere to the original values.

Respondent 22 is a Zimbabwean native, and after following her husband from Zimbabwe to Botswana and then across South Africa from Johannesburg to Cape Town, she finally decided to leave him when he started cheating on her after the birth of their son. According to her, she could not choose to stay with him, she could not afford to go back home, and therefore her only option was to go to a town in KwaZulu-Natal where her sister could help her with a cleaning job. She travelled from Cape Town to Johannesburg where she met her mother and then left her baby with her to go start a new life in Newcastle.

Respondent 22 Then my mother said: "No problem. You can give me the baby in Zimbabwe; then you can go to Newcastle". I moved from Cape Town

to Jo'burg; we meet with my mother at Joburg Park station. They took the baby home then I come back here in Newcastle.

Respondent 22 also had to re-write what it means to be a 'good mother' and a 'good wife'. In fact, she now is a 'good mother' because she is not present with her children and because she can send money home to support their basic needs and to finance their education. Phillips (2011:38) also acknowledges this tension to a certain extent and highlights the fact that women's work is predominantly driven by their need to support their children now and not to being 'good mothers' at home anymore. They are in a way rewriting the script of what it means to be a 'good mother'. However, their 'commitment as mothers' is now "embedded with particular aspirations [for their children] to receive a good education and become financially independent".

Respondent 13 Om vroeg op te staan, in die winter [is sleg]. Maar ek moet gaan werk. Daar is goeie mense by die werk. Ek moet my kinders leer. Ek moet my kinders voer. Dis hoekom ek moet opstaan en werk

Respondent 13 *To get up early in the morning, in the winter [is bad]. But I have to go to work. There are good people at work. I have to teach my children. I have to feed my children. That is why I get up and work*

Thus, being a 'good mother' then takes on a different guise than perhaps traditionally conceived. However, I would argue that this hope for their children would ultimately entail their children being able to live up to the ideal of the nuclear family, which is not an opportunity that they see themselves having. I agree with Phillips (2011) that we should acknowledge, and I would go so far as to say admire, these people rather than merely seeing them as victims and this is especially true for the women respondents. They make sure that their children are fed, but also focus on their overall wellbeing and education so that they will have a secure future. I think that this is also one of the reasons why there is such an emphasis on education, especially for working mothers that are precariously non-poor when it comes to their children. They need to know that all the sacrifices made just to scrape by barely is for a good cause, and what is nobler than wanting a better the future for your children than the reality you live every day. What is perhaps striking is that even for all the sacrifices that they

make and the compounding experiences of discrimination that they overcome, it is often still often enough. Recently, Ingutia, Rezitis & Sumelius (2020) have shown that that the biggest impact on child poverty in rural sub-Saharan Africa is not primary school enrolment, but rather whether the women taking care of them are part of the labour force. What is a 'good mother' then to do when being economically active and rather spend her time and efforts of herself, I would argue, will be more fruitful for her children than only focusing on their wellbeing alone. I would argue, and it is not really unpacked in Ingutia, Rezitis & Sumelius (2020) recent quantitative analysis, that when women start to overcome one area of discrimination it might feel like a possibility that other areas can also be overcome. Also, if a mother would spend money and other resources on herself, I am sure that in many instances it was spent in a way that would benefit the entire household.

Respondent 19 lives in Newcastle and works as a foreman at a petrol station. His partner had just had a baby, and she had to return to work two weeks after giving birth. They are not living together as he is saving up to pay Lobola which he says he is still a while away from affording. While talking about money and children, he complained about the costs involved with raising his son.

Respondent 19 Yeah, I must because they need my money to buy that milk and the food for him. That food is too expensive. R200 something [and] lasts 2 weeks

His partner is a 'good mother' since she returned to work to help look after their baby. He is a 'good father' because he is trying his best to support his family and ensure that they have a secure future together. However, what kind of choice did the mother have in wanting to return to work? Surely having more time with her baby would have been the ideal. Unfortunately, the type of employment that she and her family are reliant on is not regulated, and things like paid maternity leave is a luxury and not a necessity. This also limits her choices in terms of other things such as, for example, having the option to choose to continue to breastfeed her baby. Indeed, as Hunter (2002) notes, it is not just that marriage or family become unaffordable in real terms, "but that it becomes unaffordable to maintain a family in both a concrete and normative sense" (Peens, 2011).

Still, we know that what it means to be a 'good mother' is a historically produced ideological idea (Hallenbeck, 2018). Therefore, it is possible to re-imagine and rewrite what a 'good mother' looks like. However, I would argue that due to the intersectional nature of the oppression that women face, this becomes just another obstacle that women must overcome. Although it might seem that women have the ability to take back the narrative and/or rewrite it, this requires effort, a type of work, that only adds to their already high burden that they must carry. You cannot be a' good mother', have a 'happy family', a 'good job' and live a 'good life' in the case of the precarious non-poor. It is not affordable or possible.

So far, the focus in this chapter has been on trying to highlight what capabilities are important and noted as a priority for the respondents and the literature according to basic capabilities. I have tried to show that freedom and specifically freedom of choice is not a luxury that the precariously non-poor have access to and that there they are limited in their ability to access basic capabilities to then realise in terms of functionings. Individual conversion factors also seem to not greatly improve their quality of life (since access to basic capabilities is linked to a better quality of life). There are other social impacting factors that do seem to have a positive impact on the lives of the precariously non-poor and one that all the respondents had in common, if they qualified, was a reliance on social assistance from the government. The exceptions were foreign nationals who, in this study, included individuals from Zimbabwe and Malawi, respondents too young to receive the old age pension or those who did not have children or dependents under the age of 18 years old. Overall, ten out of the forty respondents did not receive any social assistance.

Below, Respondent 21 compares the experience of poverty in South Africa to Zimbabwe.

Respondent 21 I cannot say they, [South Africans] are poor. I wouldn't want to say they are poor. What I can say is like, I'll explain something to you. It's only that they don't know. They've never been through hard challenges. They don't understand what is being poor and what is being rich. They've got everything that they want like the girls like our age; you get pregnant, you get babies, you get paid. Yes, the government is paying them money. They [are] getting money. And even if she goes to work, she doesn't even mind. Whether she goes or whether she doesn't go, she doesn't care. So,

> I cannot say these guys are poor, but it's only that they don't know how it is outside there.

Respondent 21 picks up on one of the impacting factors that, I would argue, are keeping the precariously non-poor out of poverty. Robeyns (2005:99) explains that impacting factors within the capability approach are the "[t]he material and non-material circumstances that shape people's opportunity sets, and the circumstances that influence the choices that people make from the capability set should receive a central place in capability evaluations". Poverty is "experienced in different ways, at different times and different spaces" (Bradshaw 2002:12) and in this example, Respondent 21 is comparing living in Zimbabwe to that of living in South Africa. The social support that people receive in terms of the increase their opportunity sets in terms of their basic capabilities and in terms of other capabilities as well.

There are seven social grants that the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) administer and are means-tested according to select criteria and income. It should be noted that the means-test of the social grants do not have a poverty focus as such, but the emphasis is rather on excluding the secure non-poor. This links back to the notion mentioned in the quantitive results where there is a distinction made between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. The Child Support Grant[17] and the Older Person Grant were the most prominent under the respondents and often acted as a safety net to keep them from sliding into poverty. The other grants include the Disability Grant, Grant-in-Aid, Care Dependency Grant, War Veteran's Grant and the Foster Child Grant. SASSA is mandated by the South Africa Social Security Agency Act 2004[18] to "ensure the provision of comprehensive social security services against vulnerability and poverty". Their focus is people that are vulnerable and especially vulnerable to poverty, but older people, people with disabilities and children are the focus. "[S]ocial grants have turned out to be the single most effective anti-poverty tool deployed after 1994" (Marais 2010:4), but it is not always clear if it is/was effective eradicating poverty or just at alleviating poverty by moving people into precarity.

[17] The Child Support Grant is R430 per child (as of 1 October 2019)

[18] The South African Social Security Agency Act of 2004 created the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), under the Department of Department of Social Development and are responsible for the administration of all social grants

It is important to note that the main recipients of the grants, especially within the context of the respondents are women. This is due to the fact that the care and welfare of children mostly fall on women and access to the CSG usually falls with their primary caretaker(s). (Burns, Keswell & Leibbrandt, 2005; Aguero, Carter & Woolard, 2006). Also, due to its age eligibility and the different mortality rates between men and women, the Older Person Grant is also gendered (Goldblatt, 2005). The respondents often mentioned the grant, their difficulty in accessing it or in expressing their hopes for an imminent increase. This was also especially apparent when some of the interviews took place around the President's State of the Nation address since that is when budget allocation with regards to the social grants are set out. In many instances while talking with the respondents it became clear that the social grants where not allocated to individuals, but that it was used within and throughout the household. This is similar to what Kearabetswe & Grace (2019:538) note in relation to their work when they talk about a 'household grant' since how the grant is employed is spread across and over the household. It must also be noted that the grants are distributed unconditionally and that in the case of the Child Support Grant for example, how the money is spent is left to the parent(s) of the children. This does not mean that it is always easy to decide how to use the grant that a household is dependent on or that it is clear who decides what it can and should be used for (Mosoetsa, 2011).

Respondent 4 who lives in Delft, a suburb that is part of the Cape Flats in Cape Town reflects on her children and their wish list that she can try to fulfil when she receives the children's grant.

Respondent 4 Om vir hulle mos maar die 'grant' te gee, sodat as hy daai ou 'grantjie' kan kry en die iemand wat kan werk met 'n kop en hom nie misbruik nie. Daai geld moet nie misbruik word nie. Dis mos geld daai wat jy kry om vir jou aan te help met, soos jy kan vir jou klere koop en jy kan vir jou kos daaruit koop. Al is dit nie baie nie, al is dit net vandag 'n toppie wat jy vir jou koop. Net 'n ietsie, 'n paar skoene of so… Hulle wil mooi lyk… Hy wil sê vir jou: "Kyk hier, ek weet vandag is 'grant'-dag". Daars party van hulle wat sê: "Mammie, ek soek dit en dit en dit." Dan kyk jy hy sê hy het 'n [lysie].

Respondent 4 *To give them the grant, so that they have that bit of grant and that anyone with a brain and not misuse it. That money should not be misused. That is*

> *money that you get to help you like you can buy clothes with it and you can buy food with it. Even if it is not enough, it is enough for a top today. Just something, a pair of shoes or so…They want to look nice…He says to you: "Look here, I know that it is grant-day today". There are some of them that say: "Mom, I want this and that. Then you see he has a [list].*

She and the other respondents were reliant on 'the grant', but it also put them in a position to afford 'luxuries' otherwise out of reach. Although the capability approach emphasises moving beyond commodities and to think about capabilities as more than just a means to generate income (having a job is just about getting a salary), the example above does talk about what it would mean to have extra income. One of the main struggles of being poor is that you do not have enough of anything. However, this is a problem that the precariously non-poor also face to a lesser extent. They are in a position where they can look after their (very) basic needs, but they do not have enough to ensure that any future needs can be met or to move beyond the bare necessities. It is not possible to talk about commodities whether necessities to survive such as bread or rice or luxuries such as a new stylish top or a fashionable pair of sneakers without thinking back to link of the capability approach with Marx and his ideas related to commodities. As noted previously, Sen himself made this connection clear in the beginning when thinking through the capability approach. It seems frivolous to spend money on a new pair of shoes, but often shoes are more than just shoes. For a teenager, they are a sign of belonging and for a single mother a means to justify her working long hours yet still caring for her children. Clothing can symbolise class and belonging (or not) like for Marx (1990), although for Lévi-Strauss (1963) this is mostly context specific. Indeed, the shoes that will be appropriate for a job interview is different to the shoes a young girl will want for her first dance party. Stallybrass (1988) writes about Marx's coat which he often had to pawn to make sure there was food for him and his family, but without which he could not enter the British Museum's Reading Room where he worked on Das Capital. In a sense, the coat made him good husband in that he could support his family and a respectable English gentleman fitting in with his peers while doing his research. Whether he really was either of these things does not matter, but his coat, a simple piece of fabric, was able to give him the opportunity to try and be.

Interviewer	What else would you like to spend the money on?
Respondent 19	To buy clothes. I like to wear the right stuff. [My favourite shoe] it's, you know that it's some like a boot, but it's suede

I think that that is also one of the things that is missing from the precariously non-poor where they cannot afford to try and be middle class. Even if one of the respondents or their children qualify in terms of the education criteria to apply for a 'better' job, they need the money to pay for transport to get to the interview, they need to have a curriculum vitae in hardcopy and digital format, and they have to look the part. Arriving late because of a bus strike in slightly worn clothes will not secure you an entry-level receptionist position, for example. The social grant was most often used by the respondents to try and access security. It gave them a stable income and the ability to save and plan accordingly. Indeed, Møller & Radloff (2013) showed that social grants accounted for the difference between fortune and misfortune, especially for vulnerable households. It endows people with choice and something like a dream matric farewell[19] dress. For another family, it is possible with careful planning, to buy all three boys new school shoes when winter approaches. The security that the respondents strive for in terms of employment and education in a sense is achieved, although to a much lesser extent than needed to move beyond their precarious position, through the social grants system.

6.5 Food security and the capability approach

The next section focuses on food security and housing and although is not something that is specifically analysed in the quantitative section of this research study, it is important because it was something that the respondents spoke to often and it adds to our understanding of precarity specifically within the South African context. With food security and housing, there is an implicit (although sometimes explicit) link to overall security which, in turn, is linked to prosperity. Thus, when talking about the precarious non-poor, specifically within a South African context, it is important to understand whether prosperity is ultimately attainable or if they are just working to stay out of poverty: a distinction, as noted in the literature review

[19] A formal end of year dance usually celebrating the end of high school

section, that is often made according to context related to whether the focus is on a developed or developing country.

I am not sure what role social grants have to play in a poor family, but I suspect that it would mostly be to buy food. This is also not much different from the precariously non-poor respondents; however, for them, it was still a question of having *enough* food. When asked what they would like to spend more money on the answer was almost always food.

Respondent 6 Waarop moet ons meer geld spandeer? Op die oomblik, kos vat nou die meeste geld. Dit vat meer geld uit ons sak uit, sien, want as ons net eenkeer kon gekoop het, dan weet ons dis klaar. Dan hoef ons nie weer en weer te koop nie. Dalk nog 'n pak suiker. Dan koop jy net eenkeer en jy weet, dis vir die hele maand. So werk dit.

Respondent 6 *On what should we spend more money? At the moment it is food because it takes the most money. It takes more money out of our pockets, see, because if we could only buy once and know it is finished. Then we do not have to go buy again and again. Maybe another bag of sugar. Then you just buy once, and you know, this is enough for the month. That is how it works.*

It is also one of the basic capabilities that the respondents often highlighted and can be qualified in terms of the capability approach as food security. Sen(1981) and Dreze & Sen (1989) link to hunger and related ideas like famine and malnutrition to the capability approach. What is clear from the link between the capability approach and food security is that

> [t]he object, in this view, is not so much to provide a particular amount of food for each. Indeed, the relationship between food intake and nutritional achievement can vary greatly depending not only on features such as age, sex, pregnancy, metabolic rates, climatic conditions, and activities but also access to complementary inputs. (Dreze and Sen, 1989:13)

Take, for example, Respondent 19 who spoke about the cost of buying formula for his young son. What is not mentioned at the time is the increase in the nutritional cost of a breastfeeding mother. She and her baby's nutritional needs are much different from a mother

and a toddler. However, these differences are not usually considered when talking about food security and when linking food security to the future. In other words, being able to be sure that there will be enough food for you and your family in the future. Most of the respondents that I spoke to were able to put food on the table, the amount and the quality depended on the funds available and even the weather. Like Respondent 1, who talked about how she plans to spend her R1500 a month she receives and earns, but that it never really works out since there is always something that happens. Sometimes it is was just “That it is winter, and people eat a lot”.

What is also important has been highlighted throughout the chapter is that basic capabilities overlap and are also influenced by impacting factors such as for example in terms of food security and access to clean drinking water or even basic education around nutrition. The basic capabilities overlap, but the functionings (the realisation of the capabilities) also impact on other capabilities. It is difficult to be a good student at school on an empty stomach or to work in a physically demanding job such as construction if you have not eaten all day. Having a steady job can mean that you are able to afford more food. Also, learning about nutrition can impact on the food choices you make and positively impact on food security.

Respondent 7 works as a domestic cleaner and lives with her three children and husband in Kraaifontein, Cape Town. She is the main breadwinner, since her husband has been employed on and off for the last year. They also have a tuckshop at their home which her husband runs when he is not working. Her eldest is 21, and he has been trying to find employment since dropping out of school in grade 11.

Respondent 7 It's very difficult because at the end of the month I pay for my shops and my burial society, then I buy the food. But sometimes it's difficult to go to do everything because I am working alone

The social grant, in many instances, offers people the opportunity to access food and have some food security on their own terms. It is their choice of how they spend the money and what they prioritise. In terms of the capability approach, it creates the opportunity to be able to afford food and not to go hungry. However, it is still not enough to ensure food security linked future stability. “In other words, grants might offer a significant safety net, but gaining a foothold into the job market is a more significant boost to poor households” (Aliber

2009:396). Although it is tricky to talk about money and know, exactly, what a family's income really is, I got the sense from most of the respondents that it is with the social support from the government that they were able to stay out of poverty, but that it was not enough to give them any future security. There was never enough food for the respondents to make it to the end of the month and most of the respondents, when asked what they would like to spend more money on, said food.

Respondent 16	For food. I'll buy food for the lunchbox, the first thing.
Respondent 11	Kos en elektrisitieit *Food and electricity*
Respondent 4	Nee dan sal ek sorg dat ek altyd brood het vir my kind, en dat ek geld het vir brood. Vir elke dag het vir hom. *No then I will make sure that I always have bread for my child and that I have money for bread. So that I have for him, every day*

The respondents were able to buy food for the most part, but it usually only included the basics and seemed never to be enough. There was mention of potatoes, bread, rice, cornmeal, coffee and sugar. Thus, if we are focusing on food security as a basic capability, access, or being able to buy food is only one part. The other is, of course, related to what you type of food you are actually able to buy. There was not really any variety possible or focus on fresh produce since that would have to keep for a month, and access or ownership to a fridge was not a given. Even access to electricity or to have enough money to buy electricity was not a given. Therefore, even though the precariously non-poor were able to afford food, their choice in terms of what food they can find the money for is lacking. This is worrying since the right amount and good quality food "is an essential condition for the *health* status of a person. A person debilitated from having only a meal a day or from having a monotonic diet based, say, on rice and cereals is more likely to contract diseases" (Burchi & Muro 2012:33). I cannot account for the impact that the respondents' food choices had in terms of their lifestyle and health, but I do know the type of food that they are able to afford, and I think that the choice between more 'unhealthy' staples versus not as much 'healthy' foodstuffs is an unfair choice that they must make continuously.

The respondents faced factors outside of their control when it comes to food security like suddenly losing a job, your child becoming sick or falling pregnant. It is in these moments that the respondents had to make alternative plans to ensure there is bread on the table. Often though, what they sacrifice is their food security. Respondent 39, in turn, does not eat at home in the mornings on the days that she works as a domestic cleaner since then she rather eats what her employers give her to eat and saves their food at home for her family. When things do not work out for that month, it seems that the respondents either go hungry or that they beg from neighbours or family.

Respondent 31 Staan ek op in die oggende, dan dink ek: “Ai, jinne, daar is nie ‘n stukkie brood vir my kinders om te eet”. Hulle kry kos by die skool. In die oggende gee hulle, vir hulle, kry hulle kos by die skool. Dan is hulle darem ge-“settle”, maar nou moet jy alweer dink: “As daai kind uit die skool uitkom en jou koskas het niks in.” Joh, daai is vir my so erg. Ja, weet jy hier, gaan dit baie moeilik. Ek kan nie eens kom om by jou ‘n bietjie suiker te vra. Of hy het, maar hy sien nie kans om vir jou te gee. Vra? Jy kan ook nounet een dingetjie vra. Jy kan nie meer as daai nie. Nou vra jy nou maar ‘n ou stukkie brood. Ok, dis miskien twee, drie snytjies. Ek sal dan nou maar net vir daai ou kleintjie, maar dan kan ek nou nog nie self eet nie

Respondent 31 I get up in the mornings; then I think: “No, there is not even a piece of bread for my kids to eat”. They get food at school. In the morning, they give [food] to them, they get [food] at school. Then at least they are settled, but then you have to think: “What if that child comes home from school and in your food cupboard is nothing”. That, that is for me very bad. You know, it is tough. I cannot even ask for a little bit of sugar. Or they have, but they see up to giving you some. Ask? You can only ask for one thing. You cannot ask for more. Now you ask for a piece of bread. Okay, so maybe it is two or three slices. I will then just for the little one [ask], but then I myself cannot eat yet

None of the respondents had any access to other food sources outside of what they can buy or were in a position to save to have a buffer. Respondent 8, a young man that works as a gardener in Cape Town and stays in an informal settlement Capricorn in Muizenberg with his

young wife and new baby talks about the difficulty of trying to create other opportunities to secure food.

Respondent 8 It is difficult to keep money here because I am a foreigner, if I find more money, I will send it back to Malawi. It is difficult, if I am there in Malawi, I know I can make a change because there everyone has got a farm planting their own food, here I only come for the money

Most of the respondents have tried to be industrious to improve their level of food security. However, once again, it is these activities that are put on the back burner or become impossible to fund once they experience a shock that leaves them vulnerable. Both Respondent 7 and 24, for example, had home shops that sold cheap snacks like, for example, packets of chips. In both instances, the breadwinner lost their job, and it was not possible to carry on with the shop since they had to eat into the profits and had no money left to keep the business running. Or like Respondent 12 who was able to keep a few chickens at her home, something she was very proud of being somewhat self-sufficient, but with the sudden death of her daughter and that she had to look after grandchildren, she had to sell the chickens. She was also not able to receive the Foster Child Grant for more than a year due to paperwork issues and that she was not able to take off work to spend the day at the social worker to sort it out. I asked Respondent 11 about what she would want to do if she won the National Lottery.

Respondent 11 As ek R200 000 kry sal ek my huis klaar bou. Dan soek ek besigheid, met hoender verkoop en eiers. En ek sal groente plant

Respondent 11 *If I get R200 000 then I will finish building my house. Then I want a business, with selling chickens and eggs. And I will plant vegetables*

So far, the grant system has been shown to be instrumental in terms of food security, especially since it can be used on the respondents' own terms and for their needs. It is also instrumental in terms of the impact is has on food security and especially to the food security of children. A focus on children is important "because of concern over their immediate welfare, but also because nutrition in this formative stage of life is widely perceived to have a substantial, persistent impact on their physical and mental development. This is turn affects their school success and later labour market productivity" (Aguero et al. 2006:25).

It does seem that being more self-sufficient is something that the respondents aspire too and especially to be able to have money left over at the end of the month to save. I think that the biggest threat to their food security are sudden shocks such as a death in the family, sickness or even a natural catastrophe such as for example a big storm that leads to a leaky roof. It seems that the only cash that they can use in an emergency is under other circumstances allocated to their food budget.

The precariously non-poor are also not able to save with their tight budget, and this often puts them in a very vulnerable position.

Respondent 5 Um, armoede, dis huidiglik, soos ek sal sê. Baie van ons is nou al gewoond aan armoede, want jy, die persoon bly saam met jou. Jy sien die persoon en jy weet daar is 'n behoefte en baie sal nie praat nie. Wat ek baie, ek sien dit baie hier in Wesbank. Hulle hou dit vir hulleself. Wat ek agtergekom het is, nommer een, dat die staat moet 'n spaarskema hê waar jy nie fooie, "fees", betaal nie, want daai "fees" maandeliks maak ook jou, dit wat jy betaal, maak dit ook minder. As daar nie "fees" is nie, dan kan jy weet jy't tenminste elke maand, al is dit R10, R20, dan kan ek dit daar wegsit. Soos die Engelsman sê: "Save it for a rainy day."

Respondent 5 *Um, poverty, currently, like I said. Many of us are used to poverty because the person lives with you. You see them, and you know that they are needy, and many will not share this. That I see a lot here in Wesbank. They keep it to themselves. What I have noticed is that number one, the state has to have a savings plan without fees, thus no paying fees, because those monthly fees that you pay, they also have to make that less. If there are no fees, then at least you know every month, even if it is R10, R20 that I can put away. Like the English say: "Save it for a rainy day".*

Not only is it difficult for the precariously non-poor to save, but in many instances, it costs them money to save. Respondent 12 also explained that she had 'missing money' at the end of each month, especially when it came to the payment of her social grant. Based on our discussion, I think that the money she 'lost' is however not because of a government payment issue, but rather because of the bank costs linked to her account. She knows that she must

pay fees but is unaware of the amount. Respondent 7 is the sole breadwinner, but she dreams of having some savings.

Respondent 7 I would like [to] spend more money to save the money. At the end of the month, I would like to take the money; like a R1000 and put it [in] the bank, I like that, but it has not happened

None of the respondents talked of a credit card or an overdraft facility. This is most likely because of their unstable employment status and that banks do not want to take on the risk. However, most of the respondents had or has in the past had some type of store account, whether for clothing or for furnishings or appliances like a fridge or television. It is because this kind of debt is easier to incur than going through the bank. However, it is mostly more expensive. The respondents were often able to manage their store accounts and could then plan like to purchase a fridge to keep food fresh. The one thing that stood out was that most of the respondents were able to save in a collective such as for example, a stokvel, [20] and this usually took place through work or an institution like the church. This was usually operated as a safety net and was a buffer with shocks to their vulnerability such as a death in the family or at the start of the year when school fees must be paid, and school uniforms and supplies bought.

Respondent 10 My vrou saam met die mense met wie sy werk. Hulle spaar en dan gaan koop hulle vir mekaar. Suiker, rys, seep. As ek kyk, sy werk so slim!

Respondent 10 *My wife with the people she works with. They save, and then they go and buy for each other. Sugar, rice, soap. From what I see, she is very clever!*

Respondent 25 stays with her partner and daughter from a previous relationship, in a bachelor flat in Milnerton in Cape Town. They had a baby almost a year before the interview. They live on the second floor in a block of subsidised flats, and she complained about carrying her young son up the flights of stairs every day. This is because she has had to work the whole day and only to get home sometimes after 7pm because of the train and transport issues. She

[20]According to the National Association of Stokvels of SA (NASASA.co.za) stokvels are when a group of people pool financial resources with a common cause in mind and that the pooling of resources benefits the group. It can be for example a burial society or to afford basic groceries each month. Many people also use a stokvel as something akin to a 13th check at the end of the year.

saved when possible and it did improve their quality of life since she could stay home with her baby for longer and did not have to go back to work immediately.

Respondent 25	[Ons het gespaar] voor die baba gekom het…Dit het gehelp. Dit het, want hoekom as ons nou nie gesave het nie dan was daar niks vir die baba gewees nie. En nou is daai geld op van alles en nou groei hy saam met on nou op en met die tyd was ons nou geld kan kan verdien. Daai is wat ek nou kan aan dink
Respondent 25	*[We saved] before the baby came…It helped. It did because why if we now did not save, then there was nothing for the baby. And now that money is all finished, and now he is growing with us and with time as we can earn money. That is what I can think of now.*

One of the main aspects that the respondents were always saving for was in relation to their home. Either they are fixing up the house, trying to buy their own or sending money home. In way, having a 'home' gave the respondents a sense of security or often without a home they felt unsafe and lost.

6.6 Housing and the capability approach

According to Nicholls (2010), the capabilities approach has not really been applied to housing. "Adequate shelter", "control over your space" in terms of housing often making the list when thinking through a basic capabilities list. However, the operationalization is often lacking (see for example Nussbaum 2003; Vizard & Burchardt 2007). Nicholls (2010:29) suggests that we should "begin by examining housing as an enabling or constraining component of the central human functionings". Although he focuses on homelessness, the capability being completely absent, I do not think that it is necessary for the capability to not be there in order to understand the importance of housing as a capability or to follow how housing impacts on other capabilities.

For the respondents, home was defined as RDP houses, houses built on government land, council flats, shacks, mud houses on farms, sublet rooms in houses, Wendy houses (wooden

back yard shacks) and small apartments. They were either the owners of the houses where they stayed or were renting the houses[21].

Where you stay signifies "both a material space people can inhabit and as a force that can constrain or enable the capability that people have to function *and* to attain the essence of what is important to all humans, in a layered system, of at times contradicting needs" (Nicholls 2010:36). Thus, your home is not just a space that you inhabit; it can affect how you access other capabilities both in a positive and in a negative sense. This is similar to what Peens (2012) notes where not only do people impact on the space that they inhabit but that the space in turn also becomes part of who they are. "Housing also embeds people in a time and space and has an ontological as well as material influence on the reality that they are in" (Nicholls 2010:36). I would maintain that this is also in line with Bourdieu (2009) who would argue that we inhabit both a physical space and a social space.

To better understand the actual opportunities available to the respondents within the capability of housing, it is thus necessary to highlight not only the material consequences of one's home but also the social consequences. The first issue that usually came up in the interviews in terms of their homes was ownership: The respondents were split into owners and renters, with the majority, however, having some kind of ownership linked to where they stay although it was then often a complex story of succession, inheritance or a work in progress. King (2003) would argue that this is because housing is, no matter of the ownership, privatised.

Respondent 38 and her family live in Delft in Cape Town. Her daughter lived with her partner and their children until he was arrested for murder and sent to jail. The details of the conviction are murky; Respondent 38 jumped from insisting he is guilty, the one moment, to claiming that he was framed, the next. The story about the house her daughter lived in is even more intricate.

Respondent 38 Die ma moet toe nou maar bly, in die huis, met die twee kinders. Hy's toe weg. Ek dink hy was omtrent, as ek dan nou, ek wil nie jok nie, 2 jaar...gesit. Hy het nie eens sy kinders geken toe hy uitkom. Toe't ek maar weer ingespring en daai kindertjie grootgemaak. Toe't my

[21] See the respondent interview summary in the appendix for the specifics related to housing of each respondent

meisiekind mos gegaan Kaap toe. Kyk die ouvrou wat hulle diehuis by gekoop het, het gevoel die meisiekind moet maar ‘n plan maak. Die ouvrou wil afkom van die “system” af,want sy’s al oud. Sy wil ouetehuis toe. Dan het die ouvrou mos ‘n plan gemaak dat die huis kan afkom. Dit moet afkom op sy naam mos. Kyk, hy’s mos nou die [owner]. Toe moet my meisiekind nou maar weer Kaap toe gaan, laat die papiere en goed geteken moet word en sy moes dit gaan haal het. Die dag toe hy nou uit die tronk uit kom, toe kom haal die papiere. Nou vat hy die papiere nou by haar en toe gaan hy mos nou Kaap toe. Toe “register” die huis op hom. En die ouvrou het dit klaar so laat maak by haar “lawyers” en op ‘n sekere tyd voel hy nou hy sit my dogter uit en hy gooi die kinders uit, uit die huis uit.

Respondent 38 The mother had to then stay in the house with the two children. He went away. I think he was away for about two years if I remember correctly. He did not even know his children when he came out. So, I had to jump in and raise those children. So, then my daughter went to Cape Town. See the old woman from whom they bought the house; she felt that my daughter must make a plan. The woman wanted to get off the system because she is old. She wanted to go to an old age home. So, the old woman made a plan for the house to come off her name. See, he is the owner. So, my daughter went to Cape Town again so that the papers can be signed and then she had to go fetch it again. The day he got out of jail; he went to go fetch the papers. So, he took the papers from her, and he went to Cape Town. To register the house in him. And the old woman already had it that way with her lawyers, and then he just felt like kicking my daughter our and throwing the kids out, out of the house.

Currently, her daughter and her grandchildren are living with her. The father of the children is living with his parents, and he is letting his house to a detective in the police force.

In terms of the capability approach, Respondent 38’s daughter had the opportunity to secure housing for her children and herself. She was not able to take up this opportunity and lost out

not only on housing but also the opportunity to have a house to use as an asset. That would mean that she does not have to pay rent or that she can even rent out a part of the house if the need arises. It should be noted that the house under discussion is an RDP[22] house and the previous owner, the elderly lady, was also able first to rent out her house and then sell it. Even though you can sell your RDP house after living in it for eight years, it is illegal to rent out an RDP house. I cannot comment on the legality of the story that was told to me or whether someone was at fault. What is clear, even if the rental agreement is illegal, is the impact that homeownership can have, especially in terms of someone and their family's overall security. I am not sure what the previous owner's situation or relation is in terms of the respondents, but I am sure that she is not the exception to the rule and gained stability and security through breaking the rules. Obviously, the cost of renting her RDP house outweighed the risk of getting caught. Also, in terms of the capability approach, it goes to shows the agency and freedom of choice that people have when they have some security-here, it is a house-to to improve their quality of life. In contrast, the daughter and her children who 'lost' their house now must live with her mother in a more crowded home, and she must work as a domestic cleaner even though she finished high school.

It is clear from the example that a house is a resource, but it is also a capability in terms of fulfilling our need for shelter. Indeed, it is a basic capability in the sense that everyone should have the opportunity to be safe and secure in adequate housing. It can also be used to increase the opportunity sets within capability sets such as saving on rent and thus having extra funds available for food or feeling that your children are safe at night. However, a loss of housing means that other capabilities are also impacted on such as for example having to take up the first available job to afford rent or cutting on food to have the money necessary to afford accommodation.

Respondent 3 lives in an RDP house in Delft in the Cape Flats of Cape Town. She shares her home with her husband and three sons. They received the house in 2000 and have since

[22] RDP stands for the Reconstruction and Development Plan put in place after 1994 to address some of the inequalities and injustices of Apartheid. An RDP houses refers to a house that was given to the occupants by the state after an application and after passing a means test. People who have children under their care are usually given priority. Currently though RDP houses are now referred to as Breaking New Ground (BNG) and is apparently based on a larger plan and will also include different types of housing such as subsidy and rental.

changed it and built three additional rooms, but these are something between brick, metal and wood extensions. She also wishes that she could paint and tile her home.

Respondent 3 Nou hier by party huise het hulle ‘n “ceiling” ingesit. Nou wanneer kom hulle op na ons toe om “ceiling” in te sit? Hulle sê net: “Die geld is klaar, Daar nie vir ons ander se huise.” En um, wanneer, vat byvoorbeeld, soggens dan kry die dak van jou sweet. Hy sweet bo-op jou beddegoed. Hy sweet binne-in jou huis. Dis nattigheid, maak vir jou siek. Dit het baie mense dood. Mense wat TB gekry het al daai. Dis verskriklik, maar hulle doen nog niks aan die saak nie, maar jy moet nogsteeds stem. Nou wil ek weet: “Vir wat moet jy stem?”. En ek voel net ek stem nie die keer nie. Al die jare het ek gestem.

Respondent 3 Now here at some of the houses they put in ceilings. Now when are they coming to us to put in ceilings? They just say: “The money is finished. There was not enough for other houses.” And um, take for example, in the morning then your roof sweats [leaks]. It sweats [leaks] on top of your bedding. It sweats inside your house. It’s wet; it makes you sick. It has killed many people. People that got TB and that. It’s terrible, but they do nothing about the matter, but you still must vote. Now I want to know: “For what must I vote?”. And I just feel like not voting this time. Each year I voted

Respondent 3 highlights two important points in relation to housing. Firstly, she touches on the need that the respondents must be able to fix up and maintain their homes. Secondly, she emphasises how housing as a capability overlaps with other capabilities and in this case, it is health.

The respondents themselves understand both the enabling and constricting impact that housing has on their lives. Apart from wanting to have more money to spend on food and to be able to save, the most talked about a topic that the respondents often brought up in relation to having more funds available was having, building or fixing their own home. This not only reinforced the importance of a home as a resource but also shows us that home is a place where people can be autonomous and an important space to act out choice (King, 2003). Nowhere is this freedom of choice more prevalent than when people are actually able

to change or improve their home (whether tiling, extending or even buying new curtains). In the case of the precarious non-poor, this was, however, never an easy endeavour. They lacked the funds and support to be able to make a change, and a 'better' was always linked to the future in terms of "someday"/ "eendag". In fact, after insecure employment and access to uncertain education, the one thing that all the respondents had in common was that their current housing was not adequate. They do all have the opportunity to access housing (put plainly they have a roof over their head), however, their choice in terms of changing their housing conditions whether moving to a safer neighbourhood or fixing their homes to their level of need or want is out of their reach. The precariously non-poor also mostly started out with insecure housing: an example would be like with Respondent 3 who lives in an RDP house. The consensus is that the craftsmanship associated with the RDP homes is also often questionable to start with and it seems that people are reluctant to do anything with their homes (upkeep or change) until the first eight years have passed. However, then their homes have already started to deteriorate. I am not sure what the onus is on the state with regards to the maintenance of RDP houses, and there were conflicting stories as to what people's experiences were in this regard. The story of Respondent 3, seeing her neighbours get ceilings installed but missing out on the opportunity herself is a requiring theme. Mostly though, the respondents could not do anything to their homes due to either not having the extra funds available to afford to move or improve their homes or that they could not do it on their own even if they could afford to get supplies on the cheap. This again also illustrates the overlap between capabilities. Without secure employment or the learnt skills, one is stuck with the house that you have. Also, you are stuck where your house is.

One would assume that homeownership would be an enabling capability. However, in the case of the respondents, this was not always the case. They could not sell their home (legally due to the housing policy related to RDP houses), or they could not afford anything better. Even if the respondents were renting their homes, I found that the effort and cost to move simply could not be justified. They either did not have the money, or they did not have the time to move. Their lack of accessing other capabilities and resources acts as compounding factors. Bourdieu (2009:127) notes that a "lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude: it chains one to a place". It seems that the respondents just have nowhere else to go where they would be better off.

Respondent 27 lives in Manenberg, Cape Town with his wife and two sons. He is retired from the construction industry and on a pension. He lives in council housing with his wife and children. His mother lived in a flat, and after she passed, he took over ownership. He asked to be transferred to a ground unit when his children were born since his mother was originally assigned a top floor unit. When I met him, he had been living in council housing and paying rent for 45 years. Their flat is one of four units in a block, and each unit has two bedrooms, a kitchen, bathroom and living room. Respondent 27 and his family thus have a unit at the top and to the left. To the right of their unit is another block of flats. These flats are then built-in tight squares throughout the neighbourhood with a 'park' or open field every few blocks. Mostly, though, the sidewalks and parks are either dusty in the summer or muddy in the winter. The children share the parks or what is left of the play equipment with the cars in the neighbourhood since it looks more like a parking lot.

Respondent 27 Dis moes ook deel van die overcrowding. Die sisteme kan dit nie hou nie. Dit kan dit nie hou. Hulle sit nou toilets in die yard vir die mense wat in die yard bly maar die sewage pype is net so klein. Nee kyk, hulle moet die mense plek provide. Hiers een huis hier oorkant, waar daar elf mense in bly in 'n drie vertrek. Dis 'n toilet, 'n kamer, 'n voorkamer en 'n kombuis… Klein, dis baie kleiner want hulle voorhuis is kleiner as ons s'n. As jy nou kan dink, dis omtrent van die deur af… Is die ma en pa, kinders en kleinkinders… Kyk Michelle, soos ons nou sê die overcrowdedness in die plek, maar mense – ek glo, ek kan nie vir hulle praat nie, want as ek in so 'n situasie is, sou ek die council se deure warm geloop… Vir blyplek vir 'n groter huis dan of my kinders aangespoor het om hulle eie plekkie te kry. Kyk 'n mens kan nie alles blameer op die munisipaliteit nie. Ek glo 'n mens moet ownership vat van jou eie lewe. Daar moet 'n plek kom waar jy sê dat ek moet iets doen vir myself. Ek kan nie net op Paul depend om vir my die daai en die ander dinge te doen nie. Ek dink waar mense in so 'n plek bly, is daar, ja die munisipaliteit moet huise gee, maar die mense self wat daar bly, hulle moet ook iets doen om daai huis te kry. Of die ma en die pa gaan en sê kyk my familie het nou so groot geword, ons kan nie meer nie, dis onmoontlik in die huis in. Is soos voorkamer- slaapkamer situasie.

Respondent 27 *It is part of the overcrowding. The systems cannot keep up. It can't keep up. They are putting in toilets in the yards for the people that stay in the yard, but the sewage pipes are just so small. No, see they must provide space for the people. There is one house across where there are eleven people living in three rooms. It's a toilet, a room and a living room and a kitchen. ..Small, it is very small because their front room is even smaller than ours…If you can imagine, from the door…It is the mother, father, children and grandchildren…See, Michelle, as we said, the overcrowdedness in this place, but people- I believe, I cannot talk for them because if I was in such a situation, I would have walked knocked the council's door on fire…For a bigger house or then pushing my children to get their own place. Look, you cannot blame everything on the municipality. I believe that you must take ownership of your own life. There must come a time where you have to do something for yourself. I cannot just depend on Paul for this and that. I think that where people stay in a place like that, yes, the municipality has to give homes, but the people that live there also have to do something to get that house. Or the mother and father have to go say look our family is now too large for that house and it is impossible in that house. It is a living room, bedroom situation.*

The legacy of apartheid also still looms large in the spatial organisation of South Africa. RDP homes are usually built on cheap(er) government land outside of urban centres. Also, where townships and informal settlements formed either after forced removals or organically because of the proximity to work opportunities as well as other goods and services, the spaces remain unequal and embedded in racism. According to Young (2005:132), "the size, style and especially location of the house, along with its landscaping and furnishing, establishes the individual's location in the social hierarchy". Bourdieu elaborates on this point, but he focusses on capital although I would argue that there is a strong link in his understanding of capital and the way that capabilities and functionings have been framed. He notes that "[c]apital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that brings closer desirable persons and things …, thereby minimizing the necessary expense … in appropriating them" (2009:127). As noted earlier, people are linked physically

and socially to the space they inhabit. However, it often happens then that people become trapped in these negative spaces and internalise this reality as a key part of their self. Ballard (2012:568) makes a similar point and note that 'better people' can access 'better' places and spaces since "social concentrations of development have corresponding spatial concentrations of development". This would include, for example, better roads and infrastructure on your daily commute, maintained parks and recreational areas or even more shops to choose from. The respondents are trapped through and in their current precarious position and must live this life and can only aspire to be 'better' people. For the respondents, they can choose housing, or they have the freedom to choose what they want to do and be, but not both. Even then there is the chance to escape what Nicholls (2010:36) notes it can become "a 'prison' where people are trapped in isolation or in violent relationships" then have to be "afraid of losing the basic security they have if they leave".

For the respondents though, a home, is still better than no home and I think that even though it might sometimes be restricting in terms of moving forward or beyond their current financial position, it is still invaluable in terms of the impact it has in keeping the respondents from poverty. Respondent 7 lives in a shack in Kraaifontein. Her dream is to one day own a brick and mortar house. When asked if she would then sell her shack, she did not even waiver in her response

Respondent 7	[The shack]...it's mine. It's a good thing because I don't have the money [for rent].
Interviewer	Let's say you get a house now, would you sell your shack?
Respondent	No, I don't think so because my son is older now. It's for him.

This is similar to Respondent 4, who lives in Delft in Cape Town when she talks about what she would do if she won the lottery.

Respondent 4	Bou my huis aan, en koop vir my goete wat ek nodig het vir my huis. En ek sal van daai geld vir my kind gee... Nee, die huis is syne. Ek het hom klaar gesê jy kan nie vir jou 'n huis kry nie, want die huis, as ek my oe toe maak, is die huis joune en hierdie kind sin.

Respondent 4 *Build on to my house and buy all the stuff that I need for my house. And I would give that money to my child. No, this house is his. I already told him that he couldn't get a house because this house, when I close my eyes, is his house and this child's.*

Respondent 7 and Respondent 4 are able to sum up the great impacting factor that housing has, especially in the respondents' lives. Their greatest wish is for their children to start to have a home. I think that in terms of the precarious non-poor, owning their homes, whether a shack, RDP house or being able to benefit from government's housing scheme through a subsidy or the low rent is one of the main contributing factors that keep them from poverty. Housing is also positively associated with mental and physical health as well (Robeyns, 2003). The caveat being that this association is usually in terms of 'good' housing. Still, housing can be empowering. This is especially true in vulnerable moments such as sudden unemployment since then they still have at least their capability of housing covered.

That said, I do not think that their choices in terms of housing will move them beyond their current position. Their homes remain in a kind of flux—never to be completed to their ideal or dream—since their financial and social position remains precarious.

Respondent 21 I wouldn't mind, you know to get those challenges I want to have my place of my own knowing it'll be challenging. If I'm buying food for so much, I have to cut that food knowing that I've got this. Even if to say maybe to say I was eating two slices of meat if I'll be eating cabbages alone whatever but knowing I own something on my own. Nobody will be looking at my stomach like what did she eat, did she eat meat or whatever. I wouldn't mind

Respondent 21 makes plain the sacrifice, and here it is that she would have to prioritise housing above that of food security, that is needed to become a homeowner if you are in a precarious position and not able to benefit through the state housing scheme. Indeed, it seems to impossible to afford your own home of your own choice if you are precariously non-poor.

6.7 Conclusion

Even though common-sense dictates that having a job and having an education will secure you a good life and a protected future. However, it is not enough. The type of job you have, and the type of education you have, seems to be important and in the case of the precariously non-poor out of reach and unaffordable. This is especially evident in the current socio-political climate in South Africa. The respondents are mostly employed within insecure, uncertain or underpaying jobs underpinned by a social support program, living in neighbourhoods where they feel unsafe while trying to secure a better future for themselves and especially their children. Even though it seems that the respondents might have access to basic capabilities, ultimately, they cannot choose a better life. I would also go as far as to say that they are probably no better off than their poor counterparts. Only, they cannot blame their failure on being poor, but rather only themselves.

CHAPTER 7: SECURE RIGHTS AND THE CAPABILITY APPROACH- RIGHT YOU ARE. NOW WHAT?

7.1 Introduction

The focus thus far has been on basic capabilities although there is a slant more to the side of how Sen would conceive of them than focusing on a pre-determined list as suggested by Nussbaum. I think that the precarious non-poor should be able to speak for themselves and thus they must lead the way in term of what capabilities are important and need to be prioritised. I do not think that it is a coincidence that the list presented in the previous chapter does so strongly overlap with what the academic literature also suggests or even with the central capabilities set out by Nussbaum. In fact, I only take as extra confirmation that firstly the respondents are very self-aware and able to make the 'right' choices for themselves. Still, we do have to take in consideration the sociological frame within which they create/have this preference for certain capabilities. For example, only one of the respondents disclosed her dream to pursue a degree through a university (UNISA). The other respondents did not share any aspirations (for themselves or their children) to attain a university education to become for example an engineer or doctor. It is a reality so far removed from their existence that it is just a dream. In contrast, this is something that for example the secure non-poor would take for granted, the ability to even have the dream to attend university. Even so, that does not take away any of the significance of the basic capabilities set out in the previous chapter. Rather, it warrants/necessitates action to make sure these capabilities are met so that the precarious non-poor can also dream big.

7.2 The burden of choice

I do think, however, that something that has been missing in the research study and in relations to the basic capabilities set out so far is a sense of obligation. Who is then responsible for empowering people to be able to make the choices, especially since I have shown that the precarious non-poor intrinsically know what would lead to them living a life, they have reason to value?

I think that here the work of Martha Nussbaum and her link with capabilities to rights is valuable. In fact, it is no coincidence that each of the basic capabilities highlighted in the

previous chapter is clearly framed as a basic human right in The South African Bill of Rights, as part of the 1996 Constitution.

- The Constitution contains a Bill of Rights. Chapter Two enshrines the rights of all South Africans. Section 18 elaborates on the rights of South Africans in terms of labour and employment but can be summarised as everyone having the right to fair labour practices.
- Education rights are contained in section 29 of the South African Constitution. In terms of section 29, everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.
- The right to housing is protected in section 26 and states that everyone has a right to have access to adequate housing. Failure to realise these rights and provide socio-economic goods and amenities in turn compromise the progressive realisation of the right to housing
- Section 27 states, explicitly, that everyone has the right to access sufficient food and goes a step further to make special mention of children and their right to basic nutrition.

Nussbaum, although influenced by Sen, also notes that one of her great influences is the work of Rawls specifically "the idea of the citizen as a free and dignified human being" (Nussbaum 1999:46). Nussbaum also notes that her interpretation of the capability approach is a close ally to the human rights approach, but she goes further to not that it "defines both the goal of political action and its rationale" (Nussbaum 2002:133). It is easy (or let us contend easier) to focus on people's functionings. However, "affirmative shaping of the material and social environment is required to bring all citizens up to the threshold level of capability" (Nussbaum 2002:133). Indeed, the right to something is not a guarantee of quality service and often guaranteed 'access' rather works with segregated social policy architecture than against it. For example, if we take a 'no fee school': it would be the poor and the precarious non-poor that would have to send their children here since they cannot afford anything else let alone something better. If they are lucky, it might be an average school, but most definitely not the same as a 'fee school' that has extra funding available for more teachers and extra resources.

Thus, the focus should be on equal opportunities for all and not only meeting people's material needs. If this is not done, it is a failure of the state rather than a failure as a person.

This links to the findings in the previous chapter. Although people's lack of opportunities are framed as their own fault (they are 'a flop'), what Nussbaum is pointing out is that although the focus of the capability approach is on the individual in terms, there is an onus on the state to step up and create the opportunities so that functionings can be achieved. Also, a focus on the accrual of resources mostly ends up reinforcing privilege. In other words, "better-resourced citizens" are in a better position, first, to claim and, then second, to enforce their rights (Ballard 2012:568 see also Hunter 2010). I agree with Nussbaum that the focus of the state should be on capabilities and more specifically, in the case of the precariously non-poor, on the basic capabilities as set out in the previous chapter.

Below, Respondent 4 reflects on the role of the state in terms of helping her access housing. She also remarks on the value of social grants and once again, the importance of food security. This highlights just how impactful the state can be in terms of helping people to achieve capabilities.

Respondent 2 Nee, maar een ding, vandag as ek so sê, sê ek vir my kindertjies, kleintjies: "Weet julle, die huis wat mamma in sit vandag, daai "Mister" Mandela het dit gegee vir my... Nou weet jy, kyk hier, die dag wat hulle sê: "Mister Mandela is nie meer daar", toe lyk dit die kinders gaan ook, dis trane wat loop... Dit was tragies gewees. Hy't darm iets vir ons agtergelaat... Regtig, hy't baie. Kyk hier, hy het ook so gewerk dat die mense kan geld kry, "grant" geld. Hy't ook so gewerk daar moet ander keer kospakkies gedeel word vir die kindertjies.

Respondent 2 No, but one thing, today if I can say it, I say to my children, little ones: "Did you know, this house that mamma is sitting in today, that 'Mister' Mandela gave it to me...Now you know, you see, the day they said: "'Mister Mandela is not here anymore", it looked like the children, there were tears flowing...It was tragic. He at least left us something... Really, he did a lot. Look here, he

> also worked so that the people could get money, the grant money. He also worked so that the children had to get food parcels.

It is important to note once again that Nussbaum does set out a list of central capabilities which she believes are instrumental for humans to lead a good and valuable life. However, as stated above, I am more slanted to Sen's conception in terms of key capabilities and have chosen to focus on basic capabilities. "[J]ust by being human, are of equal dignity and worth, no matter where they are situated in society, and that the primary source of this worth is a power of moral choice within them, a power that consists in the ability to plan a life in accordance with one's own evaluation of ends" (Nussbaum 1999:57). The value of capabilities and their importance to people's lives does not diminish. Indeed, Nussbaum argues that the needs of the individual need to be taken into account and it think that she would be quite happy to see that the 'list' of basic capabilities set out in this thesis is built out of the narratives of the precarious non-poor. As I have shown in the previous chapter, the capabilities overlap and it is not possible to focus only on one capability and that we should rather think in terms of "combined capabilities" (Nussbaum, 2002). Also, the central capabilities set out by Nussbaum echo the basic capabilities under discussion. This is an important point to make since this means that the strong stance that Nussbaum takes in relation to the role of the state is also applicable in this context and to that of the importance of capabilities in relation to the precarious non-poor.

7.3 The consequences of lacking capabilities

If the capabilities are lacking in someone's life, we know that they cannot live a truly valued life. Also, in many cases, the lacking capabilities will lead to the potential of poverty which is a reality that the respondents face every day. This is also since they understand better than anyone what is keeping them from poverty and the reality, where no functionings can be achieved. What I want to focus on now are some of the consequences of the respondents not having access to the basic capabilities that they need/want. This goes beyond the idea of just then not being able to realise the associated functionings. Much in the same way as Nussbaum (2005) argues that women and the prevalence of violence they encounter worldwide takes a psychological toll as well and is in itself a form of violence, so I will argue

that the lack of access, internalised failure and associated loss of self in itself is a kind of violence that the respondents experience.

All the respondents suffered some form of violence. Sometimes it is a break-in and a loss of goods, but often it is as severe as the loss of a child due to murder. There are also stories of physical and mental abuse where the victims are often the most vulnerable of society. To further unpack the stories of violence that the respondents experienced, it is of value to talk about the capability of human safety, one that Nussbaum (2005 & 2006) also emphasises although her focus is mostly on women. In terms of other work related to the capability approach, there is not much written about the impact of crime and violence on people's capability sets. There is a focus and emphasis on 'human safety' and this more often than linked to housing (feeling safe in your home and in the area where you live). I would argue that in the context of South Africa, safety as a capability must receive more attention, especially taking into account that all of the respondents have had a negative experience. Also, in terms of safety, it is one of the capabilities that I think is, often, undervalued and unnoticed. In other words, if you live a safe life, it is easy not to notice it. "[E]ven those who do not suffer from violence directly suffer from the threat of it, which greatly diminishes numerous valuable capabilities"(Nussbaum 2005:168)

Respondent 4 lives in Wesbank, Cape Town. I met her on a cool spring morning, and within the first few minutes, she started talking about her son who was murdered during a gang shooting only a stone's throw away from where we were sitting in her home.

Respondent 4 En my ma is kort afgesterwe nou, die 2de Januarie, het sy afgesterwe en dan het ek my eie "baby" kind verloor. Hulle het hom geskiet...Hy was, 18. Hy word nou 21, volgende jaar...Nee maar, dit is, ek moet dit praat met iemand. Dat ek dit nie aanmekaar in my kop, in hou nie.. Hy was 'n "gangster ", maar ook nie 'n "gangster" nie. Hy't maar altyd saam hulle geloop. Ja, en nou daai selfde dag, ek sal dit nooit vergeet nie. Die aand het hy in gekom om te kom eet, toe sit en kyk hy my so. Toe vra ek hom "Hoekom kyk jy so vir my". Toe hy vir my "My ma, ek kyk hom vir jou, want ek is lief vir jou. Toe se ek vir hom "Ok dit

is oraait" Toe kom lê hy, hy he agter my rug geslaap. Toe hou vas hy vir my, amper die hele halwe nag Maar dan sê ek vir hom "Jy moet nie vir my so hou vas nie, jy moet weet ek het 'n bors. Dan sê hy vir my... "nee hy gaan nie die heeltyd so slaap nie. Maar agterna het ek toe maar sy hand afgehaal en sy been van my boud afgehaal sodat ek kon lekker lê. Die oggend toe maak ek vir hom wakker en vra vir hom..."Gaan jy dan nie nou na die meisietjie van jou, wat jy gesê het hom kliniek toe gaan nie. Toe sê hy..."Ok my ma, ek gaan nou. Toe staan hy op, borsel sy tande, trek hom aan en hy loop...

Maar dan is ek, amper een soos wat in n twyfel is. Ek weet nie - ek moet my plek skoon maak, maar ek kom nie so ver om klaar te werk nie. Die kind waarna ek moet kyk, huil, en my aandag is ook nie by die kind nie. En ek staan teen die [wys na tafel] in my kombuis , teen my tafel en ek light my entjie en ek rook. Maar dan hoor ek die skote wat afgaan...Ek staan en rook. Daar kom 'n ander meisiekind ingehardloop, en sy sê vir my Auntie. En ek sê:"Wat is dit?" Sy sê hulle het vir [my seun] geskiet, hy lê daar. Dan vat ek die kind, wat ek na kyk, stoot haar in die pram, hier is my huis en dan is hier 'n hokkie in, so tussen die hokkie stoot ek die kind en skree vir die meisiekind. Vat die kind na my tjommie toe, en dan is ek oppad om te kom. En toe ons nou hier kom voor die die kant, hoor ek net die man sê:"Haai kyk hoe lê die kind". En ek het net my kop gesak...Toe weet ek nog nie...En toe ek my kop oplig, toe ons by hom is. Ek met om gepraat, maar hy kan nie vir my antwoord nie. Want as hy praat kom sy mond net so [wys met haar hande] maar hy kan nie vir my niks sê nie.

Ja, dit was nege skote. En dan kom ek by hom en sê vir hom: "Jy moet nou stil lê, moet nie so aangaan nie". Maar die 'way' hoe hy gelê het en die 'way' hoe hy...hy het aangegaan soos 'n slang. Dis die 'way'...En dan los ek hom weer en dan praat die anderse weer met hom, dan gaan ek weer na hom toe. Die tweede keer toe ek na hom toe gegaan het, is dit toe dat hy my hand gryp. Ek ek sê vir hom:"Nou toe lê stil". Nou kyk hy my, en dan druk hy my hand, en dan sien ek maar hy gaan dit nie maak nie wat sy oe dingese mos nou klaar. Maar dan sit ek maar, dan los ek hom, dan vat hulle hom in die

ambulans, en toe hy in die ambulans is, skud die ambulans en maak ek die ambulans se deur weer oop, en hulle maak dit weer toe vir my en ek staan en ek staan, en 'n ander vroutjie sê vir 'n ander vroutjie: “Hoekom vat hulle nie vir haar weg nie” en ek vra: “Nee maar nou maar hoekom moet ek dan nou weggevat word". Dit is dan nou my kind vir wat moet ek weggevat word.

En agterna toe kom die ambulans se drywer uit, en ek sê toe vir myself: Ja , dit is sy tyd, hy is seker nou maar klaar. Die ambulans ’driver’ het toe gesê ...(huil en praat nie verder vir rukkie).

So het ek gelos en toe alles klaar is toe kom ek huis toe.

Respondent 4 *And my mother passed away now, the 2nd of January, she passed, and then I lost my own baby. They shot him...He was 18. He is turning 21, next year....No but, it is, I have to talk about it with someone. That I don’t just keep it in my head... He was a gangster, but also not a gangster. He just walked with them. Yes, and that same day, I will never forget it. That night he came in to eat, and he sat watching me like this. I asked him: “Why are you looking at me like that?”. He said to me: “My Mother, I am looking at you because I love you”. So, I said to him: “Okay, that is all right”. Then he came and lay; he slept behind my back. He held me almost the whole half the night, but I said to him: “You should not hold me so tightly, you know I have the lung thing”. Then he says to me: ”No, I am not going to sleep like this”. But afterwards, I took off his hand and his leg off my back so that I could sleep well. The morning I woke him up and asked him: “Aren’t you going to take that girl of yours to the clinic?”. So, he said: “Okay my Mom, I will go now”. He got up, brushed his teeth, got dressed, and he left.*

But the whole time, it is almost like someone who is unsure. I don’t know, I have to clean the place, but I don’t get to it. The child that I am looking after is crying, but my attention is also not with her. And I stand next to the [points to the table] in my kitchen, against my table and I light a siggie, and I smoke. But then I heard the shots go off. I just stand and smoke. Then a girl came running in and say, my Auntie. And I say, “What is it?” She says that they have

shot [my son], he is lying there. So, I take the child that I am looking after, push her in the pram, here is my house and here is a little building in, between the building I push the child and shout to the girl. Take the child to my friend, and then I am coming. And then when we got to this side, I heard a man say: "Look at how that child is lying". I just lowered my head...Then I did not know yet... When I lifted my head, we were next to him. I talked to him, but he cannot answer me. Because when he talks, his mouth just comes (gestures with her hands) but he can't say anything to me.

Yes, it was nine shots. And then I got to him and said to him: "You must lie still, don't go on like this". But the way he was lying... he was going on like a snake. That is the way. And then I leave him again, and then the others talk to him and then I go to him again. The second time I went to him was when he grabbed my hand. I said to him "Lie still". So, he looks at me, and he squeezes my hand, but I saw he was not going to make it because his eyes were already finished. But then I sit, I let go, then they take him in the ambulance, and when he was in the ambulance, the ambulance shook, and I opened the ambulance door, and they closed it again, and I stood there and stood, and then another woman asked:" Why don't they take her away?" and I asked: "No, but why must I be taken away". This is then my child; why should I be taken away.

And afterwards, the ambulance driver came out, and I said to myself: Yes, it is his time, he is probably finished. The ambulance driver he said... (cries and does not talk for a while)

So, I left it, and when everything was finished, I came home.

Respondent 4 can recall in vivid detail the day she lost her son. She not only lost her son, but her family, her place in the community and her identity is forever linked to this moment. She is the women who lost her son. Even though her son's murder went to court, the witnesses were intimidated and threatened. Nothing came of the court case. She still lives in fear because of this and for her other son.

Respondent 11 Die laaste een, die seun was vermoor in 2014. Ja, n roof [met] ‘n mes. Dit is gevaarlik [waar ons woon]. Ek weet nie. Die jong mense gaan drink by die tavern. My seun werk by die konstruksie. Dit was payday en die mense het gesien hy het geld.

Respondent 11 *The last one, the boy, was murdered in 2014. Yes, a mugging [with] a knife. It is dangerous [where we stay]. I don’t know. The young people go drink at the tavern. My son worked in construction. It was payday, and the people saw that he had money.*

Respondent 4 Soos nou dan moet hy gaan werk vernaam as hy moes oggend skof moet werk, dan gaan hy half sewe taxi toe, dan is ek baie in 'n vrees in. Ja, [angstig]. Dan sê ek vir myself, ek hoop nou net die kind loop veilig en hy kyk hoe loop hy en hy moet in rondte kyk en hy moet die earphones uit jou ore uit haal sodat hy kan hoor en sien. As hy loop ook, dan sê ek ook: “Asseblief jy moet nou kyk hoe jy loop”. Dan sê hy: “Nee my ma dis oraait ek sal kyk”. En as hy saam die maats is, jy moet kyk wie voor jou loop en agterkant van jou loop.

Respondent 4 *Like now he has to go and work, especially if he has to work the morning shift, then he has to go to the taxi at half-past six, then I have great fear. Yes, [anxious]. Then I say to myself; I hope that child walks safely, and he looks where he walks and that he must look around and take the earphones out of his ears so that he can see and hear. If he walks, then I also say: "Please, you have to look at how you walk". Then he says:" No mom, it is all right I will look". And if he is with friends, you have to look who is walking in front of you and who is walking behind you.*

Respondent 4 and her family still live in the same neighbourhood where her youngest son was shot. She also still lives in the same RDP house with her other son. She must walk down the street where he died. Although gangsterism[23] seems to be synonymous with the Western Cape and Cape Town, this experience of crime and violence is not unique to respondents only from this area. Respondent 11 works as a live-in domestic cleaner in Newcastle. Her family live in the neighbouring town of Vryheid. She also lost her son a few years ago.

Although the families have been impacted in terms of their safety, there are also other capabilities that are impacted. Like in the case of Respondent 11, who's family also lost a contributing income from her son and they lost the opportunity of better housing conditions since her son would be able to support his own family. There are also other capabilities that now remain out of reach as well as functionings that will not be achieved.

One would think that an incident like this would change a community, and there would be a call to make the neighbourhood safer. However, violence and crime are accepted normal daily occurrence. Also, although the state has a role to play in curbing crime and violence, directly and indirectly, the respondents mostly took it on themselves to try and protect themselves.

Respondent 8, who works as a gardener, reflects on his experience of crime and the role the police played. He cannot afford to move as he and his wife just had a baby. He was also

[23] For a comprehensive discussion of the problem of gangsterism is Cape Town see for example: Shields et al. 2008; Jensen 2010. Also for a comprehensive discussion of the latest crime statistics see SACN 2019

recently mugged and stabbed on his way to work in one of the more affluent suburbs in Cape Town. He lost his cell phone and had to go to the hospital.

Respondent 8 They [are] breaking [in] sometimes like me they break my house about 4 times now...Yeah, they are breaking [in] they are taking other things. Yeah, it's people who live there because there is a lot of 'skollies' there in Muizenberg so if you are away, they just break in the house and taking things. No, they just stay, you are a foreigner what can you do. Sometimes even if you call the police, they just come and say you must find another place to stay

Respondent 8's relationship with the police and the state is even more complex because he is a Malawian living and working in South Africa. He already felt that he and his wife would not be able to achieve the basic capabilities necessary to live a good life in Malawi and came to South Africa to make a better life. He does, however, not feel that the state and therefore the police either is on his side and that he must make things happen for himself. He was also adamant that he would return to Malawi one day with his family.

Similarly, the other respondents were also not a position to spend money on security and improvements. Often though they mentioned that they would like to upgrade their homes and would then specifically highlight wanting to build a fence, the respondents also made do with what they had in terms of trying to combat crime and violence. Like Respondent 6, who lives in Delft, Cape Town, who decided that the cheaper building material was a better option not only because of its price but also because it acted as a security alarm.

Respondent 6 [Om te bou] met steen, ja, maar toe vind ek uit dis maar die beste om die plaat te gebruik, want as hulle inbreek, dan kan jy mos nou hoor die plaat raas, as jy nou slaap. Daai's my voordeel en nou die "wendy", daai houtgedeelte, my dogter s'n. Een van die dae gaan sy 'n plek kry om te huur dan gaan daai plek ook net daar staan. So as die "weather" nou so is, as dit reën, kan ons die wasgoed daar hang….[Ons] sal nie huurders op

die “yard” toelaat nie. Dis een ding, dis ‘n las as mens ander mense op jou plek het, om so te sê.

Respondent 6 *[To build] with bricks, yes, but then I found out that it is the best to use iron sheets because when they break-in, then you can hear them since the sheet makes a noise when you are sleeping. That is now my benefit and now the Wendy, that wooden part is my daughter’s. One of these days she is going to get her own place to rent and then that place is also just going to stand there. So, if the weather is now if it rains, then we can hang the washing there… [We] won’t get tenants on the yard. That is one thing: it is a burden having other people in your place, so to say.*

Respondent 26, who lives in Manenberg, Cape Town, complained about gang violence and regular shootings in their neighbourhood and street. Her husband often works on site far from home and then she has trouble sleeping.

Respondent 26 Die gang violence en die gansterism en ook die drug situasie in die plek in, is traumatic. Dit ‘traumatise’ ‘n mens. Dis erg. Ek meen daar was ‘n tyd wat ek my bed moes skuif van die een muur na die ander muur want ek het ge-fear om daar op daai bed te slaap want ‘n mens weet nie van watter kant af die skote kom [deur die venster]

Respondent 26 *The gang violence and the gangsterism and also the drug situation in this place is traumatic. It traumatises a person. It’s terrible. I mean there was a time that I had to move my bed from the one wall to the other wall because I feared to sleep on that bed since you never know from which side the shots are coming [through the window].*

When asked if the respondents had any insurance, the answers were always no except for a funeral cover or policy. Each and every one of the respondents had some form of funeral plan that they contribute to monthly. What they receive, in turn, varies based on the plan and the company. Mostly, however, there is some pay-out so that their families can afford a funeral.

It is one of the very few ways that they can afford to take action, even after something as terrible as a loss of life, to ensure that their loved ones are not worse off without them. I would argue that although this seems to be a sentiment born out of affection, I would argue that it is also based on fear. The fear that their loved ones will struggle to survive and that they will have even fewer options related to their basic capabilities. It is also based on the fact that they cannot trust the systems in place to take care of their loved ones, and they thus take it on themselves. There are, of course, social and cultural reasons as well that impact on the importance placed around a funeral (Case et al., 2013). However, I think that it is telling that the respondents place too much importance on making sure they meet their loved ones' basic capabilities as far as they possibly can even though they have passed on. Also, it is, in a way, another capability that is set up, since they would have the opportunity to have a funeral that keeps their dignity in check.

Not only did the respondents reflect on crime and violence suffered from perpetrators, but they also often suffered at the hands of loved ones or people they trusted. Many of the female respondents shared a past with a violent partner, while others were still living that reality. There were also stories of children falling victim to mental and physical abuse.

It is often noted that the poor are even more vulnerable to crime than other groups of society. I would argue that this is also true for the precarious non-poor. They are not able to protect themselves either physically through putting up fences or installing alarms. They also cannot really afford the loss of cell phone, which often is the only link to their uncertain employment, since they are not insured and have no savings to fall back on. The loss also of something like a laptop signifies more than just missing hardware; it is also often the only way that someone can finish their studies where the original purchase was already made on expensive debt. Where they live and how they live also have an impact on their vulnerability to crime, for example having to take public transport or walk everywhere increases your risk. The respondents also often did not have the social capital in terms of knowing the 'right' kind of people to hasten a resolve after a violent criminal incident. Like the poor, the precarious non-poor "may lack the social networks enjoyed by others in ameliorating the effects of victimization" Pantazis (2000:416). The respondents who shared their stories of their murdered sons both still live without answers with the perpetrators never brought to justice.

Similarly, Respondent 20, who shared the very sad tale of her granddaughter's rape, is still waiting on judgement and unsure as to where the proceedings are or even if there ever will be any recourse. This is in part because of a failure of the state in these instances, but it is also because the respondents are not able to make up the difference (such as hiring an expensive lawyer or attending counselling etc.). I would argue that the precarious non-poor are more vulnerable to violence and that when they do suffer from violence, the consequences are also more severe.

Respondent 25 reflects on her daughter that works as an au pair in Belgium. Respondent 25 worked for a wealthy family, and they helped her daughter apply through an agency to take up the opportunity to work overseas. Respondent 25 hopes to be able to visit her daughter one day and while discussing the difference between South Africa and Belgium she was able to highlight when a state works to enable people versus expecting them to fend for themselves.

Respondent 25	Sy wil eintlik daar bly. Sy is nou net moeg van die… Sy's moeg van al die geweld. Ons bly mos nou hier, sy kan nie meer die geskietery en goeters, kan ek nie vat nie. Ja ek se vir haar ek het kan buite kant ook stoep slaap. Ek kan in die middel van die pad gaan lê. [Die polisie] help jou
Respondent 25	*She actually wants to stay there. She is just tired of all… She is tired of all the crime. We live here now, and she just cannot handle all the shooting and stuff, I cannot take it. Yes, I said to her I can sleep outside on the stoep. I can sleep in the middle of the road. [The police] actually help you.*

It seems that the state has failed the respondents in many instances in regard to creating the opportunities to access the basic capabilities. The respondents are struggling with employment, access to quality education, food security and safe housing. I would argue that they feel insecure and unsafe overall because of the basic capabilities, either presenting as partial or not at all. In terms of the capability approach, they can choose a life, but not one that they value. This, I would argue, is one of the most violent acts that they must endure every day.

In Zižek (2008) seminal work *Violence: Six sideways reflections*, he defines violence as either objective or as subjective. The focus so far has been on the latter, and according to Zižek, we are usually caught up in trying to solve and fix subjective violence. We are fixated and fascinated by subjective violence. Our news headlines not only confirm the violent acts but also that we are drawn into this kind of violence. We focus on child abuse, domestic abuse, alcoholism or even substance abuse, but it "distracts our attention from the true locus of trouble by obliterating from view other forms of violence and thus actively participating in them" (2008:9)." This means that we overlook and ignore the objective violence, which is the violence in the background that is often the cause of subjective violence (Van der Linden, 2012). Zižek (2008) also further distinguishes between two different types of objective violence: symbolic violence and systemic violence. Symbolic violence is the "violence embodied in language and its forms" (2008:1). Systematic violence refers to "the often catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems" (2008:2). Systematic tends to be invisible since we associate it with the way things are supposed to be, the normal state of our society. Van der Linden (2012) notes that this 'normal' state also highlights subjective violence as disturbing. This, in turn, only again hides underlying systematic violence. I agree with Zižek (2008) that systematic violence is indeed important to take into account, much more so than subjective violence, which he believes we should and can simply ignore.

What does this mean for the precarious non-poor? It links to the point that Nussbaum makes in terms of the role of the state and the role it must play in the fulfilment of the basic capabilities of all individuals. Zižek only takes it a step further and notes that the lack of action from the state is not passive, but an act of violence in itself. This does not then even account for the added and almost forced subjective violence that people have to resort to in order to survive. Systematic violence brings about just as much harm to individuals than subjective violence.

Even if we are often surprised by subjective violence, and it "seems to arise 'out of nowhere'" (2008:2), it is based on social injustice, exploitation, oppression and economic inequality. It is clear that Zižek's conception of systematic violence shares strong ties with Galtung's (1969)

notion of structural violence. This means that certain institutions and social structures lead people to subjective violence either individually (like for example murder) or as a collective (for example protests). Indeed, subjective violence seems irrational when we do not account for the 'invisible' systematic violence.

Take the example of the 'senseless' gang violence that has 'terrorized' Cape Town and that many of the respondents also have fell victim to. The headlines read "It's 'war' on the Cape Flats as gang-related death toll mounts" (Hendrick, 2019). This 'war' is irrational, and many innocent people are suffering. However, rather than addressing the economic and political structures that drive this subjective violence, the state has deployed the army (Davis, 2019). It has seemed to halt the subjective violence to some extent, but it is not sustainable since it does not address the reasons why people turn to a life of crime. The unequal economic and political opportunities, which can also be read here as a lack of access to basic capabilities, remain unaddressed. Interestingly enough, the violence used thus far in the war on gangs and that used by the army is justified. It will mostly serve to maintain the status quo and once again hide the "smooth functioning of our economic and political systems". If we focus on subjective gang violence, then we do not have to account for objective violence under which people are suffering. All the while, living in fear whether due to the threat of subjective or objective violence, is closely linked, I would argue to what Nussbaum means when she talks about fear as "itself a form of psychological violence, [that] takes its toll on [our][24] lives" (Nussbaum 2005:168)

This objective violent process "leaves behind a trail of preventable or unnecessary harms and suffering"(Van der Linden 2012:38). None of which are greater than depriving people of their human rights which in this instance is linked to their basic capabilities. What is, however, striking is that since objective violence is 'invisible' and 'policed' to keep it that way, one of the most truly violent acts that happen as a consequence is creating the belief that people themselves are responsible for their loss of rights, their loss of capabilities, their lacking

[24] Adapted the quotation to apply to all persons and not just women. The original reads: "This fear, itself a form of psychological violence, takes its toll on women's lives"(Nussbaum 2005:168).

functionings and ultimately also leading them to believe that they are even responsible for the subjective violence they experience.

7.4 Conclusion

The qualitative chapters have focused on basic capabilities in relation to the precarious non-poor, but also on issues related to security. Although having a list of basic capabilities is important, by focusing on what it means to have a lack of security, thus being closer to poverty than to prosperity, it shows the lack of access and lack of quality and equality when access it addressed. A focus on basic capabilities in terms of defining the conditions of what it means to precariously non-poor also shows that we cannot address precarity (and I would add poverty as well) by only addressing one capability at a time. In fact, the capabilities overlap with each other like for example education being linked to employment and vice versa. It also shows that focusing on income alone as a definition or even characteristic of what it means to be precariously non-poor is not enough especially when we focus on people's overall wellbeing (Cosgrove & Curtis, 2018). Ultimately, to improve people's lives, we have to focus on the basics (basic capabilities), but there has to be security and certainty in place so that people feel safe. A lack of basic capabilities is not without consequence, and as the last chapter has shown, the least of it having to survive just beyond poverty. Because there is a constant lack of security (unsure employment, unequal education, food insecurity and nowhere to call home) these people also endure a constant violence-both explicit and invisible-inflicted on them almost daily.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

"For freedom is secured not by the fulfilling of men's desires, but by the removal of desire…
No man is free who is not a master of himself."
The Discourses of Epictetus translated by P.E Matheson (1916)

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to combine the findings of the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research study as well as to point out how the different phases were able to address the research objectives and answer the research questions. It will also highlight the key contributions that this study makes in terms of our overall understanding of the precarious non-poor in South Africa, but also more generally in terms of our understanding of poverty. It will focus on some of the theoretical and methodological contributions that are a result of the study within the field of Sociology and poverty research in general. Thereafter recommendations are made in terms of necessary future research and policy development.

8.2 Research overview

The overall aim of the research was to describe the category of the precariously non-poor in South Africa. It also sets out to understand how they survive on a day-to-day basis. The introduction chapter sets out the background of the problem while also justifying the overall need for the research study. The research problem, research objectives and the research questions are also outlined. The literature review follows on the introductory chapter and summarises key literature pertaining to the study as well as some of the underlying theory and thinking used throughout the thesis. The theoretical framework further focuses on what income cut-offs and categories were used in relation to the category of the precarious non-poor within the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research. It also explains how the capability approach was operationalised to have specific relevance to the study of the precarious non-poor. Next, the method chapter sets out the details of the mixed method employed as well as giving further reasoning why the choice of method was warranted. The following section details the research problem in relation to the research objectives and once again details the justification of the mixed method. Thereafter, I will present the results of the

quantitative phase as well as elaborating on the findings from the qualitative phase in relation to the research questions.

8.3 The research problem, objectives and method

The research objectives were set out in order to address the research problem. The precarious non-poor is a new area of inquiry globally, but especially in the South African context. This means that in order to fully address the research problem, there had to be some background to the problem nationally, while at the same time giving details and specifics to the precarious non-poor's day-to-day survival. This meant that two broad objectives were warranted with the first identifying who the precarious non-poor are at a national and provincial level within South Africa. This was done through a quantitative analysis using the most recent GHS and IES data sets. The second objective sets out to describe and learn more, in a normative and material sense, about what it means to be precariously non-poor in South Africa. These almost divergent objectives, in turn, warranted that the research study is broken up into two different phases underwritten by two different methods. A mixed-method approach was justified to give background to the problem on a national and provincial level through a quantitative analysis while the qualitative analysis gave the opportunity for the respondents to describe their experiences.

8.4 Summary of quantitative and qualitative research findings

The next section will detail the overall knowledge contribution of the thesis while also focusing on how the research questions were answered. Although they overlap generally, the findings are associated with the different research phases that in turn are suited to answer specific research questions.

The first set of research questions on the precarious non-poor focus on the background overall in South Africa. The findings in the statistical analysis gave context and reference to who the precarious non-poor at the national and provincial levels, in terms of key socio-demographic variables within the GHS and the IES. Not only was it possible to single out this data in each of the datasets, but most of the variables chosen are comparable across the two

datasets. In most instances, the results were very similar, save for the few instances where it was tricky because a variable was coded differently (for example, in the IES social grant was part of the main income source and not a standalone variable as in the case of the GHS) or where there was some missing data/unspecified data that bring the results into question (for example, in both the GHS and IES in terms of employment there is a large proportion of unspecified or not applicable ranges). The quantitative chapter set out the different relationships between the poor, the precarious non-poor and the secure non-poor in terms of key socio-demographic variables.

Although the precarious non-poor represent a small percentage nationally compared to the poor and the securely non-poor, it is still worrying. This is especially troubling if we keep in mind how close in terms of an income category the precarious non-poor are to the poor. Therefore, even though the precarious non-poor only represent 16% of the population in the GHS and 18% in the IES overall it is when this is added to the category of the poor—which rises to 79% in the GHS and 72% in the IES—that we really see for how much of the South African population prosperity remains out of reach. Put the other way around, only about a quarter of South Africans is prosperous.

Provincially, the largest proportion of the precarious non-poor and the securely non-poor live in the Western Cape and Gauteng, which are also homes to the largest cities, biggest industries in the country; thus employment opportunities. There is also well-documented research that shows historical and continued migration of people from other provinces to Gauteng and the Western Cape. Indeed, this was also corroborated in terms of the qualitative findings, where many of the respondents were not originally from Cape Town and referred to the Eastern Cape or the Northern Cape, as 'home.' Some of the respondents from Newcastle had also worked in Gauteng or would consider moving if the opportunity presented itself. Comparatively, the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu Natal provinces, associated with the homelands and the legacy of apartheid, still have the highest proportion of poor both within the GHS and IES results.

Linked to the different provinces is, of course, the idea of settlement type and within the GHS and IES, there is a distinction made between urban formal, urban informal, traditional areas and rural formal. Although the definition of these settlement type is constantly changing within StatsSA (and often the interpretation of what distinguishes the one from the other is

left to the people conducting the interviews and collecting the data), still, it is worth noting that most of the precarious non-poor (59% according to GHS, 60% according to IES) live in what can described as an urban formal. At least half of the poor (52% GHS and 51% IES) live in what is described as traditional areas with the next largest proportion living in the formal urban areas (37% for both the GHS and IES). In comparison, most of the secure non-poor live in a formal urban area (79% GHS and 81% IES). Keeping in mind the results mentioned above as well as the statistical significance it seems that people are better off in urban formal.

Reflecting on the qualitative interviews, it is perhaps a bit of both. People do move to the bigger urban centres for better work opportunities, but often the employment they find is insecure and underpaid. Keeping in mind that the jump in terms of being categorised as poor to precarious non-poor is quite small, they might be better off compared to where they were, but they are still far from being well off.

In terms of gender and race, the precarious non-poor overlapped with the poor with women and black individuals mostly represented. In both cases, although there was a statistically significant relationship, the size was moderate or small. Thus, although if you are a black woman, the chances are higher that you are precariously non-poor than a white man, for example, the chance is moderate. However, it is not to say that because you are black and a woman that you will be in a precarious position.

The quantitative results in terms of gender and race also strongly overlapped with the demographic make-up of the sample of respondents during the qualitative phase of the research. Within Cape Town, there was an almost equal mix between coloured and African respondents. Within Newcastle, there were only African respondents with the exception of one white respondent. Within the quantitative findings when the focus was on race in terms of poverty categories, showed that 85% of Africans are poor or struggling to survive just beyond poverty based on the GHS results. This is similar to the IES results that showed that 80% of Africans in South Africa are either poor or living just beyond the poverty line. When focusing on the Coloureds only within the statistical analysis, we see that 70% are in poverty or precariously non-poor within the GHS. The IES shows that 59% of Coloureds fall into either the poor or the precariously non-poor category. What is unfortunate is that much like the brunt of poverty continues to be carried by non-whites in South Africa, so too are the precarious non-poor represented by mostly black people. Within the qualitative phases most

of the respondents were black and mostly women. This can, of course, be attributed to the fact that I am a woman, and it is easier for me to recruit women, but I think it goes beyond this. From the qualitative findings and under the discussion of gender in the qualitative chapters, many of the female respondents were either the breadwinners in the family since their partners could not find work or because they were left by their partners and had to now look after their families. In many instances, they were able to find work easily enough but with the added caveat that it was often viewed as menial (such as working as a domestic), is underpaid or with very low wages and insecure.

This links to the next important finding and that is related to employment and the precarious non-poor specifically. It makes sense that there is a statistically significant relationship between the different poverty categories and employment since a job necessarily leads to some form of income. Even though there were some issues related to the findings in terms of the IES, the GHS showed that almost 70% of the poor were unemployed and almost 50% of the precarious non-poor. As a proportion of the total percentage of the unemployed, including the poor and the precarious non-poor, accounts for more than 85% in total. Therefore, not only is it important to highlight the relationship between being securely non-poor and employment but also to point out the staggering number of people who are not in employment. Shifting to a focus on those employed, unfortunately, there is more bad news. Even if people indicated that they were employed, 11% were still poor, and 27,7% were precariously non-poor. Thus, even if a person does secure some type of employment, it does not necessarily mean that they will move beyond poverty and/or precarity. In fact, what this points to is that there is a proportion of 'working poor' or 'working precarious non-poor'. Taken with the qualitative findings, the picture that emerges is even more dire. It is not only that the respondents struggled to find work, but that it was difficult to find secure and well-paying employment. What the respondents made clear, is that it is not enough to find/have a job, since it can cost you more to work (considering transport costs, childcare costs etc.) than to not work. The type of employment available to the precarious non-poor, and I suspect to the poor as well (although this was outside of the scope of the study), is ultimately insecure and often underpaid. Also, it is often unregulated since it is 'piece work' or outsourced. Add to this the high levels of unemployment; it is easy to see that there is a high turnover of people

in these kinds of positions and jobs since there would always be someone willing to take your place even for a few Rands less.

Within South Africa, this problem is further exacerbated by low levels of education. Half of the poor (50% in the GHS and 53% in the IES) have grade 9 or less schooling. This is also similar to the findings in terms of the precarious non-poor where the level of grade 9 or less schooling is also close to almost half (47% in the GHS and 45% in the IES). If we add to this the percentage of no-schooling to the above, then between half and three-quarters of the poor and the precarious non-poor have little or no formal education (72% for the poor and 61 % for the precarious non-poor in the GHS as well as 60% for the poor and 55% for the precarious non-poor in the IES). This means that most people, without added training or learning, can only apply for unskilled or semi-skilled positions. Within the qualitative findings, this link between education (or a lack thereof) and employment was often made by the respondents. It is not only that unskilled or semi-skilled work is often insecure and underpaid, but that this type of employment also leaves little room for advancement or bettering one's position. It is possible for a domestic helper to train to become a (hopefully better paid) nanny or for a shop worker to be promoted to foreman as was evident from the interviews, but overall in terms of a future outlook, the type of work and related salary remains linked to unskilled or semi-skilled employment.

Considering the high levels of unemployment as well as the rate of the working poor, how do people then get by on a day-to-day basis? From the results of the quantitative findings, it seems that many people are dependent on state support in terms of social grants. Within the GHS, 43% of the poor received grants compared to 57% not receiving any assistance. This is compared to 35% of the precarious non-poor having access to some sort of social assistance versus 65% not receiving any support. Overall, when comparing the findings for everyone receiving a type of grant, almost 95% of people are poor (78%) and precariously non-poor (16,3%). Within the IES the category there is unfortunately not a standalone variable in relation to social grants, but it is coded as a part of the total income variable. In both instances, thus within the GHS and IES, there was a statistical relationship between the poverty categories and social grants while the effect was moderate in the GHS dataset. A possible reason for people not receiving social support, yet still classified as poor or precariously non-poor, is because they are not eligible (for example, they do not have children, are not elderly,

etc.) or they have not applied. Although it might seem like a positive finding initially that at least there is some support from the state to help people, what is worrying is that the social support does not seem to help people move out or beyond poverty. As mentioned in the quantitative findings chapter previously, social support programmes within South Africa have indeed been very successful in lifting people out of absolute poverty, but the numbers above point to the fact that it does not really help any further. People remain poor and precariously non-poor despite social support.

This should, however, not undervalue the grants system in place or be used as a reason to abolish it, especially when keeping in mind the findings from the qualitative phase of the study. Although none of the respondents, those who qualified to the receive a grant, credited the social welfare program as with moving them from poverty to precarity, neither did they note that the grant system put them in place to move beyond their precarious position. What the grant system, and especially the child grant, meant was that respondents were able to plan for the future somewhat and to afford some items that fall outside the category of necessities such as for example a pair of new sneakers. Still, none of the respondents saw the social welfare system as a means to move beyond their precarity. For that, better employment and education to be able to find better employment makes more sense.

Before I started this study, I was aware of the ongoing problem of poverty in South Africa. However, I had thought that the precarious non-poor would be larger in comparison to the poor especially keeping in mind the global focus on poverty (MDGs and now SDGs) and locally (one only has to reference a recent provincial or municipal IDP). In other words, I had thought that people had moved on from poverty and were in the very least precariously non-poor. Yet, not only does it seem like poverty is still a massive problem, but I think that it is even more of an issue when taking the quantitative results into account because when we talk about the poor, we should start to include the precarious non-poor since there seems to be very little difference between them, safe for a few hundred rands more a month here and there. I also think that it is more likely that people move from poverty to precarity rather than on to being securely non-poor. Consequently, rather than seeing the findings as a poor versus the precarious non-poor, it is in fact of more important to think of it as the poor and the precarious non-poor. Not only is the goal for people to move beyond poverty and for many that would mean moving through precarity, but it is also the precarious non-poor who are the

most vulnerable to slipping into poverty (for the first time or once again). Consequently, when talking about the poor, it is important to include our understanding of the precarious non-poor and vice versa. In fact, what this research, especially when focusing on the quantitative findings, shows is that the problem of poverty is far from solved and rather one of increasing concern. People might not be living in absolute poverty, but they are still poor or living on the edge of poverty. Although it is an improvement, it is only marginally so.

During the qualitative interviews, it was also interesting how, even if the respondents were precariously non-poor, they would group themselves with the poor rather than with the secure non-poor. This is, in part, because they do not know how to talk about their precarious position since the poor versus non-poor discourse is so dominant officially and unofficially. However, it also shows just how far off becoming securely non-poor seems to them that they are rather, in comparison, poor. The idea of being securely non-poor is almost incomprehensible.

Where the quantitative findings highlighted that the poor and the precarious non-poor face the same hurdles in terms of trying to secure prosperity by focusing on the overall picture of the problem in South Africa, the qualitative findings were able to go a step further, it is not enough to highlight that unemployment and education are an issue or that gender and racial inequality remains a problem. The next section will focus on how, through the capability approach, it was possible to not only list the problems but start to unpack why, even with continued interventions and poverty alleviation programs, these things remain a hurdle for the precarious non-poor to move on to prosperity.

Where the quantitative findings helped us understand the problem of the precarious non-poor overall, it was necessary also to add details in terms of their lived reality. Not only is it important to emphasise the statistically significant socio-demographic factors in relation to the precarious non-poor, but the qualitative findings add further support and draw attention to how the relationship plays out in their lives. For example, the quantitative results showed that women often carry the burden of being poor and precariously non-poor. It was during the qualitative results that the respondents were able to add specificity to these overall statistical results. In other words, what does the lived reality look like for a precariously non-poor woman and her family?

Through the narratives of the respondents and with keeping the key findings from the quantitative findings in mind, a focus on basic capabilities became necessary. Although a list of basic capabilities, as set out in the capability approach literature, is usually associated with poverty, it became clear from the narratives of the respondents that if these basic capabilities were addressed, they would be better off overall. Not only does a list of basic capabilities include the most statistically significant variables from the quantitative analysis, but more importantly, it overlaps with the key concerns most brought up by the respondents: employment, education, gender, food security and housing. Underlying each of these issues is the idea of security linked to the future since it is hopefully the next step to move to being securely non-poor.

Overall, the qualitative section focused on these issues, but with a focus on how to, according to the respondents, secure prosperity and thus what is missing from their current situation to access a better future. Mostly, access overall was not an issue. The respondents would eventually find some form of employment, their children were able to go to school, they found a way to be attentive parents, they were able to get food on the table, and they had a roof over their heads. Rather what stood out was that in terms of access and quality in relation to basic capabilities, the precarious non-poor had very little.

So why is this important, surely if someone has moved out of poverty and their basic capabilities are somewhat met, then there is not really a problem? Quite the contrary, in fact, since in terms of their basic capabilities, they have very little choice and often the same amount as the poor. In other words, although they have a job it is underpaid, although their children go to school they are worried about the quality, although they can afford food today that might not be the case tomorrow and although they have a house, it is either not theirs or the house is starting to crumble around them. They do not have the means such as secure employment, savings or other types of security to move them onto being securely non-poor. They also do not have the means to access more choice in terms of their basic capabilities. Thus, according to the precarious non-poor, it is not so much about their list of basic capabilities being met, but rather how in terms of the quality and overall opportunities available to choose from there are available. Within the South African context, there is often focus on the high levels of unemployment, and during the quantitative analysis, similar trends were found. However, what is regularly not brought up in the discussion is that not just any

job will do to lift people out of poverty. In fact, the precarious non-poor, who were mostly employed or had some means to generate income, show that what actually happens is that people are better off, but only marginally. In other words, the poor do not become prosperous, but rather precariously non-poor. If we want people to be securely non-poor, the type of employment they need to find has to be meaningful, valued and well-paid. Also, using the framework of the capability approach, people must be able to choose to take up this kind of employment and be able to create the life they want to live.

Perhaps one of the examples that best illustrate this emphasised in the qualitative findings is education. Education was often earmarked by the respondents as the best way to secure a better future (if not for themselves then definitely for the next generation, their children). However, even with a matric certificate or a diploma (college degree), their children were struggling to find employment. Does that then mean that the respondents are wrong? That education does not lead to a better life? What the example shows is that for the poor, and the precariously non-poor the opportunities in relation to education are much less than compared to the securely non-poor. Moreover, this lack of choice then, in turn, limits other opportunity sets (or capabilities). The respondents could not afford to send their children to university and rather invested in cheaper courses, which in turn, again impact the employment opportunities that they would have available. Taking the broader South African unemployment rate into account, it is not that you 'only' have matric or 'only' have a diploma that determines whether you have a job, it is also whether there is a job available. Even if there is a job available, not everyone starts off on an equal foot. Duff & Fryer (2005) have shown that there are formal or social channels that jobseekers can follow to get a job. However, the formal channels available to apply for a job is usually monopolised by the well-educated elite. "For the rest, it follows that unless they have access to alternative social channels of information (particularly referrals from friends and relatives), they are likely to face failure" (2005:8) since there is no way that they can show or prove their worth to a future employer.

The capability approach was instrumental within the scope of this research for mainly two reasons that link to the fact that it can act as a theory as well as be implicated in practice. In terms of using the capability approach as a theory, what is key here, is the understanding of capabilities and their related functionings in terms of choice. Thus, the importance to have a

choice and to be able to make a choice. It is important to highlight this as two distinct things since they are often conflated as 'freedom of choice' into one idea. It might also seem simple to explain that the one aspect of choice is related to the macro issues in our society while the other can be best described on a micro level and is linked to the individual and their attributes. However, in both instances, the socio-economic circumstances that someone finds themselves in have an impact on what choices they have available and if they are when then presented with the choices to take up any of them. Thus, even if we can see that our South African government is making strides in terms of addressing for example access to education, that does not mean that it is free to all or that everyone can choose to go to school. Also, if the only choice of school you have has no facilities or unprepared teachers, then it is not really a choice. Granted, the government has fulfilled its promise for education for all, but it is not fair, nor is it equal. The people who also have to put up with mediocre service delivery are the poor and, as shown, the precariously non-poor.

What the qualitative findings also drew attention to, was that the experience of being precariously non-poor, with not having access to the basic capabilities that they want and need, is in itself a form of violence. Within the capability approach, people are responsible for the choices they make in terms of taking up the opportunities within a capability to convert into functionings. However, there is also a strong onus on the state to ensure that everyone has the same access to opportunities, especially when it comes to basic capabilities. When this is not achieved, I have made the argument that the consequence is that it is a type of violence that is inflicted on people; in this case, the poor and the precariously non-poor. It is a type of invisible and systematic violence built into our society that sees poverty and precarity as consequences of upholding the status quo. The lack of basic capabilities, which can also be phrased as a lack of human rights, thus does not have to be addressed.

8.5 Overall contribution to knowledge and policy recommendations

Although the quantitative and qualitative findings shed light on the precarious non-poor as a distinct category within South Africa, the main take away is that they are not much different to the poor in South Africa whether through statistical analysis or by their own account. To have this conclusion make more sense, it is important to point out once again that what it

means to be poor is not based on objective measures or a set definition. In South Africa, there is no 'official' poverty line in use, and neither are the StatsSA poverty lines (FPL, LBPL and UBPL) adopted by government. Furthermore, the social assistance programmes (such as indigent grants, CSG and OPG) all have different means test thresholds that are not related to the StatsSA poverty lines. Even though there might not be an 'official' poverty line in South Africa, the definitions and logic used in relation to poverty does still correspond with the dominant discourse internationally related to poverty: Those below the poverty line are poor, and those above the poverty line are not.

For the sake of this study, the focus here in the discussion is not on absolute poverty; the focus is rather on those just beyond the poverty threshold. Officially absolute poverty is declining, and there is still much research as well as interventions and programs that continue to target the absolute poor. What a focus on the precarious non-poor has shown us though is just how lacking this type of thinking and definition is in terms of poverty since moving from absolute poverty to just being poor or precariously non-poor is an improvement, but still very far removed from being securely non-poor. Indeed, recent work by Chen & Ravallion (2013) shows that absolute poverty has declined, but that the proportion of relatively poor has not changed much and was higher in 2008 than in 1981. I would argue that the relatively poor as defined by Chen & Ravallion (2013) strongly overlap with the precariously non-poor category. Furthermore, for the precariously non-poor respondents in this study, moving over the poverty line or continuously surviving just above it, has not made a big difference in their overall quality of life. They still struggle to find jobs, to get a good education, to get food on the table and to keep their families safe. Being pushed over an income minimum does not do much to secure prosperity. Also, importantly, it does not seem to guarantee a better life for the next generation. Thus, even if poverty is addressed, inequality seems to be a more prominent force that will still have to be reckoned with.

The main conclusion of this research study is, firstly, that we should move away from a poor/non-poor definition of poverty. Secondly, although helpful in understanding the problem of poverty and in this case, the precarious non-poor, a focus on income only might alleviate poverty, but will not eliminate it and does not address lacking wellbeing.

This might seem to be in contrast to the main argument of the thesis since the focus on the category of the precarious non-poor still operates as a binary with either poverty on the one

side or the securely non-poor on the other side. Furthermore, central to the definition of what it means to be precariously non-poor is income. Exactly what the thesis ends up critiquing and questioning is central to the definition and the understanding of the precarious non-poor. However, it does prove two very important points which are especially relevant within the South African context, but I would argue perhaps relevant to other contexts as well. Firstly, poverty lines and their conception remain arbitrary and any improvements or gains made in terms of poverty when measured in terms of poverty lines more often than not only improve people's lives to a small extent and mostly based on an increase of income and not overall quality of life. What the qualitative results show, and this is the second important point to arise out of this study, is that a focus on income does not improve people's overall quality of life. In fact, the respondents themselves were able to identify key basic capabilities that would have a more lasting impact when addressed than an income only focus.

Why then still make the case for the precariously non-poor? This is answered to an extent by the respondents themselves who struggled to make a distinction between what it means to be poor and the precariously non-poor (I touched on this in Chapter 6). Our everyday understanding, and I would argue much of our academic knowledge, is underpinned by the binary conception of poverty (in other words the poor and the non-poor). Yet, the respondents do not see themselves as 'poor', but they are definitely also not 'non-poor'. Their experience is linked to a lack of wellbeing (that can include income but not exclusively) and is manifested in their precariousness.

Why not just group the precariously non-poor with the poor? To move from being poor to being non-poor only requires an increase in income. However, to move from precariousness to prosperity requires much more. Furthermore, if we are not able to understand what people need in order to improve their quality of life, it is almost impossible to make a meaningful contribution. A focus on precariousness gives us the opportunity to do just that. As Adesina (2007:1) points out, the idea of a minimum level of livelihood is constructed and normative, and thus as such, it is important to understand what people need and want in relation to this minimum level. However, since there is an intuitive underpinning to what it means to live a good life, a lot is taken for granted. As the research has shown, people need more than 'just' an education. They need a quality education based on equality. People need more than 'just' a job. They need to feel worthy and valuable in their employment, and the reward should

match the input. Indeed, how we talk about poverty and how poverty is defined necessitates that the bare minimum has to be in place, especially in the context of for example, absolute poverty. However, a focus only on making sure the bare minimum is in place does mean that the quality of what is given is not as important. The logic then follows that if someone is destitute with nothing, then any job is better than nothing, any home will do, and they can survive on the basic food stuff. If we add the precariously non-poor and what we have learnt from them within this research, it seems that this focus within the social policy is justified and helpful to the poor, but it does at the same time also take away further accountability since it does not seem to improve the quality of life for the precariously non-poor. Let us go back to the example of education: Our South African government is committed to supplying education to all. Any failure in them not being able to do this is written off because they must first focus on people that do not have access. Thus, the quality and equality in relation to other people is not a priority. A focus on a zero baseline of needs means that only the bare necessities have to be provided, and still people will be better off. I would argue that this is where the category of the precariously non-poor fall. They are better off, yes, in terms of overall poverty and definitely in terms of absolute poverty, but they are still very far off from leading a good life and to be able to secure prosperity, they have to have access to more than 'just' an education.

A key contribution that this study makes relates to addressing poverty and precarity beyond only income. A focus on poverty alone justifies an income only approach since the results have been and are substantial when looking at the gains made between absolute poverty and poverty. However, these now not absolutely poor and now only poor and precariously non-poor are still very far removed from prosperity and overall wellbeing. I would argue that in the case of the precariously non-poor, they are often made invisible or ignored when talking about development. In other words, they are not poor enough be the focus on interventions nor are they prosperous enough to be paid attention too. I think that one of the best examples is the social grants system in South Africa. Although it is linked to a means test and related income cut-off, it is mostly focused on the elderly, children of people with disabilities that are then 'poor' according to the StatsSA cut-offs (Mosoetsa, 2011). Thus, it does not focus on the poor overall and therefore cannot and will not make a difference in their lives. The poor and the precariously non-poor that do not qualify are then either not poor enough or do not seem

to matter. In terms of the precariously non-poor is can be argued that social grants do keep them from poverty, but I would argue that it in no way can or will secure them prosperity. If we know that poverty goes hand in hand with inequality and unemployment (the so-called triple challenge) would something like an unemployment grant not be better suited to help the poor and the precarious. A focus on the precariously non-poor highlights the need for a more universal approach when trying to move people into prosperity. It is almost cruel to stop the Child Support Grant at eighteen years for children when they will most probably still be dependent on their family since unemployment is so high and our skills and education system is lacking. It then takes extra work and effort to not slide deeper into poverty or to remain teetering on the edge of poverty and precarity. Indeed, what struck me was that the precarious non-poor, in a sense, work hard and put in more effort to survive and make sure that they do not fall into poverty. Also, they must work harder to prove their worth. This resonates with what Nussbaum (2002:130) describes as a person's capability to be 'truly human' being linked to their human worth and dignity.

If we understand that development "is a process of distillation, concentration, segregation and exclusion" (Ballard, 2012:569), the consequence is that those people being helped are left with no agency. Furthermore, these individuals/agencies/governments/NGOs helping do so from a position of power where they mostly act to secure their position whether through direct financial gain such as corruption or even in a more abstract way through keeping the socio-economic factors in check that keep them in power. This has, as I have shown through the research, extreme consequences: keeping the precariously non-poor in their current socio-economic position but also framing this as their own doing which in turn is a violent act that they have to endure daily as well. Added to this, they must endure the material consequences as well, such as insecure employment, sub-par education, unsafe neighbourhoods, and having to worry about their next meal.

I am not suggesting that a focus on development is wrong. Indeed, the overall enhancement of human wellbeing is at the core of Sen's capability approach. The point is rather that we should be clear about the 'who' and 'why' when it comes to development. Often, development is seen only as a consequence of growth (mostly economic) and it is true that more developed countries have lower poverty rates than developing countries. However, it is not to say that this is the reason why people are better off. Rather, what was more likely is

that it is due to deliberate social policies that targeted the poor population. Therefore, to expect developing countries to rely on growth to foster development and the upliftment of its citizens will not work. In fact, it is quite possible that only focusing on development as a consequence of growth can increase poverty rates while only benefitting the rich.

To truly make a difference in the lives of the precarious non-poor, social policy should focus on addressing the basic capabilities noted in the quantitative findings and raised by the respondents during the interviews. Also, we must understand that there is a difference between availability and access. Having the option to choose within a capability is not the same as having the freedom to choose whatever you want and to have your options of choice be the same as everyone else's. Choosing to send your child to college is an expensive one, even with government funding, that will not necessarily mean that your child can/will have access to better job opportunities within the South African context with our high unemployment rate. Even if they are successful in beating the odds, they will necessarily bring with them into their secure non-poor life student debt and familial obligation (Fongwa, 2019). In a sense, there is less freedom to choose the life they want to live even if they are able to move beyond their precarious position. The precarious non-poor are not free to choose; in fact, they are, in a sense, trapped in their precarity since they cannot afford to become poor or to be prosperous.

It is thus not enough to focus on increasing people's income through social support like the CSG. Rather, free and/or fair access in terms of choice is needed in terms of the basic capabilities. Increasing people's capability in terms of education, a continuation on with the example used so far during the conclusion chapter, means that everyone should have the freedom to choose whatever type of education they want. In practice, this means that the quality of education that someone receives in a school in Newcastle should be the same as a school in Cape Town also whether poor, precariously non-poor or secure non-poor. When putting out a policy that impacts on people, it should be noted that not 'just' any education or 'just' a job will do. I would also suggest that the onus is on the South African government to create and facilitate *quality* employment and education opportunities for all. Unfortunately, so far, working to meet arbitrary benchmarks (whether set because of the MDGs/SDGs or because of industry or political intervention) have not had a lasting impact on people's wellbeing overall. There has been significant progress made in terms of the

alleviation of poverty, but what a focus on the precarious non-poor shows is that this progress does not follow through to move people into prosperity. People are either still poor, just not absolutely, or they are precariously non-poor and thus living just beyond poverty.

It is tricky to try and redefine how we talk and think about poverty while using the same vocabulary and ideas. Thus, we have to work with what we know and understand already in relation to poverty, while at the same time we must try to move beyond the traditional binary of the poor and the non-poor. Talking about the precariously non-poor not only captures that people are still struggling to survive although they are operating above some arbitrary poverty line, but that they are not absolutely poor. It also highlights just how far being precarious is from prosperity. It is further important to note that context plays a very central role in the lives of people and their experiences. Thus, the experience of being poor in South Africa is certainly different to being poor in for example Denmark. A focus on the precariously non-poor addresses both of these issues by moving beyond the binary definition of poverty and prosperity while capturing the transient nature of poverty within South Africa specifically. It seems that people do not move from poverty to prosperity, but rather from extreme poverty to either being less poor or precariously non-poor. I would also argue that for most people it would be necessary to move from poverty through precarity before they are able to be prosperous. Keeping in mind the high rates of poverty still found in South Africa, that still leaves large proportion of people that must move beyond poverty onto prosperity. Yet, the reality, according to the respondents in the qualitative phase of this research study, is that people rather remain vulnerable to poverty (precariously non-poor) than being precariously prosperous or even securely non-poor after moving from poverty. Furthermore, if we focus on how their basic capabilities are being met, it seems they remain vulnerable to poverty with prosperity only moving further away. It is therefore critical that we start to include the precarious non-poor in research about poverty, but also in terms of understanding precarity specifically, which is of course is what this research study set out to do. In addition, we should note that the condition of the precarious non-poor within the global South and South Africa is different to the idea of precarious prosperity that is used in the global North. Thus, it is essential that we start to pay attention to who the precarious non-poor are, why the remain vulnerable to poverty and what needs to be done to move them to prosperity.

8.6 Reflections on the capability approach

Sen put forth the capability approach to try and make sense of poverty beyond just an income focus. There has been much written and debated since then about what are capabilities, functionings, agency and other key ideas related to the capability approach. What I did find lacking was the application of the capability approach beyond mentioning it as a type of guiding principle in poverty and development studies. In other words, Sen and the capability approach would be mentioned to highlight the importance of focusing on more than just income when talking about poverty and then that is where the discussion would stop. I think that it is only when trying to use and apply the capability approach throughout an entire that the limitations and advantages become apparent.

The capability approach is able to not only look at income, but also an array of other dimensions related to wellbeing. This was especially advantages to this study because although income is important in the definition of the precariously non-poor, as the results show, it is only one part of what makes up the daily existence of these people. In terms of the precariously non-poor I found the idea of a set of basic capabilities very useful and the idea of a capability as holding a kind of potential to attain/make/do/get to capture what people need/want presently, but also in terms of the future. I also think that it can capture the context that someone finds themselves in to explain their situation through the focus on conversion factors and impact factors.

The capability approach has had a lot of contributions and critique over the years and it is sometimes difficult to work through this to then apply it within a study. It requires judgement calls to be made by the researcher “since it is radically underspecified” (Robeyns, 2006:373). The limitations in terms of using the capability approach is that it is tedious to apply and especially as it relates to poverty studies. It takes effort to identify capabilities and to unpack how they function in terms of functionalities. Also, in many cases when the conversion factors and impacting factors are considered the picture that emerges is often quite complex. Robeyns (2006) makes a similar point, but does suggest deciding to either focus on capabilities, functionings or then capabilities and functionings and to let the rest be complimentary. This is as I have mentioned previously one of the reasons that I decided to focus on the list of basic capabilities.

Much of the work done in reference to capabilities and functionings can often feel like common knowledge. This is especially true when you start to unpack a capability, how it functions, what the impact factors are, etc. Still, I would caution here, that this is exactly why it should be done, because it is the 'common knowledge' that we take for granted that is usually cited as a 'quick fix' to poverty such as for example 'just get an education'. It is also these 'common answers' to poverty and precarity that are often not as straight forward or even easy to attain and follow through on. If we continue with the example of education, it is difficult to make sure your child is prepared academically for their schooling career when there is either no pre-school in your area, you cannot afford it or if the school is underfunded and understaffed. Granted, a child does not have to attend a pre-school to be able to keep up in primary school, but there are still other gains to be considered apart from only the academic ones such as socialisation and institutional knowledge that is passed on. I agree with Robeyns (2006) that the capability approach functions best when it is used as an evaluative tool and also when it is used in conjunction with other more established approaches. It has been invaluable and helpful in terms of describing and understanding what it means to be precariously non-poor in South Africa.

8.7 Areas for further research

The precarious non-poor are, unfortunately, a category that can no longer be ignored since most developmental successes in poverty lead to this category expanding rather than really situating people in secure, prosperous future. In fact, as the findings in the quantitative chapter showed, the precarious non-poor overlaps more with what we know about being poor: insecurely employed, female, uneducated and living in urban and peri-urban areas. Also, the qualitative chapters show that the respondents themselves, the precarious non-poor, prioritise a list of basic capabilities, which also groups them rather with the poor than the prosperous. Thus, a focus on the precarious non-poor (in addition to the poor) should be prioritised in future research.

One of the key areas of research to further explore is related to the definition and categorisation of the precarious non-poor because this is a relatively new category under investigation. Throughout this study, it was a challenge to find literature that supported the

idea of the precarious non-poor, people surviving just above the poverty line yet did not place an extra unnecessary added layer to the definition such as, for example, in the case of the 'missing middle' which would mean looking at specific areas of industries or specifically the shift from an agricultural setting to a more urban space. Ultimately here the precarious non-poor is defined in terms of the South African UBPL. Although there are some inherent problems in working with poverty lines and cut-offs related to income, it was necessary, first, to link the research to other work related to poverty. Second, it was crucial in linking the quantitative and qualitative section to each other within the study. It would have been difficult and quite problematic to link this research study to a broader body of knowledge if I had tried to create my own definition. In fact, it was one of the overall objectives to that the work here will add not only to our understanding of what it means to be poor but how to move beyond poverty successfully.

Further research that should be explored is within the context of the already secure non-poor. Outside the scope of this research are questions pertaining to the list of basic capabilities and whether the secure non-poor still prioritise the same list of capabilities to keep their prosperity intact. For example, does someone that is securely non-poor think that saving for their children's education is critical to ensure a prosperous future? Another area of focus should also be on the secure non-poor that have successfully been able to move from precarity to prosperity. What were the capabilities (and resulting functionings) that meant that they were able to leave precarity behind? Is the list of capabilities different/the same, according to the secure non-poor, to survive precarity versus maintaining prosperity?

Another area that needs further research is how to operationalise the capability approach. Much work has been done in terms of the theory of the capability approach as well as how the capability approach informs dimensions of poverty and/or wellbeing. However, in terms of finding examples of where the capability approach is applied to specific case studies or a group of people, such works are few and far between. There is some work within South Africa, but the focus is mostly within the education sector.

It was, therefore, necessary to be very clear in how the capability approach is used, and it is here where the idea of basic capabilities was instrumental in this study. Not only did the list of basic capabilities result from the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research, but it is was also echoed in theory within the work done within the capability approach. It is also

here that I think that the most valuable work in terms of future research lies. Now that the list of basic capabilities has been shown to have worth for the precarious non-poor, more work needs to be done to show the specifics and details as to how best the basic capabilities should be focused on to have the biggest effect. This research study has now shown that access is only one part in terms of successfully turning capabilities into functionings. The next important aspect is that the choice that people have should be equal in terms of their capabilities.

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Appendix

Informed consent form

Describing the precarious non-poor living in Cape Town and Newcastle
I, Michelle Peens (michelle.peens@gmail.com), would like to invite you to participate in a study examining people struggling financially, but who would be classified as living above national poverty lines according to their income, which will add to the knowledge related to sociology and the measurement of poverty in South Africa.

My name is Michelle Peens and the information collected in this interview will help fulfil the requirements for a DPhil in Sociology through the University of South Africa (UNISA). I am under the supervision Prof Jimi Adesina (adesij@unisa.ac.za) and you can contact him or Prof Rabé (rabeme@unisa.ac.za) at the Sociology Department to verify this information (See further contact details below).

Participation:
To partake in an informal interview that can last anything from half an hour up to an hour. There is no planned use of deception involved in this study.
Privacy:
Your participation in this study and your responses will be kept confidential. Any reference to you will be by pseudonym, including any direct quotes from your responses. This document and any notes or recordings that might personally identify you as a participant in this study will be kept in a secure place that only the researcher will have access to. Only the researcher and the research supervisor will know who has participated in this study. Three years after the completion of this study all personally identifying information will be destroyed. Although the findings of this study may be published, no information that can identify you will be included.
Risks:
The researcher foresees minimal risk for those who choose to participate in this study. There are no foreseen physical risks associated with this study; other risks might include the following: You might experience anxiety, discomfort, or negative emotions as a result of responding to the questions asked of them in this study. If you experience a negative reaction, you may choose to skip the question, to withdraw from the study, or you may contact my supervisor or the UNISA Ethical Committee, especially if your discomfort continues after the study.
Benefits:
There are not foreseen direct benefits to you regarding participation in this study beyond the general knowledge that you are assisting in furthering the knowledge related to this research topic and assisting the researcher in completing their DPhil. There is no compensation associated with participation in this study.

Michelle Peens	UNISA Sociology Department	SARChI Chair in Social Policy
Tel: 083 6333 443	Tel: 012 429 6301	Tel: 012 337 6114
Email: michelle.peens@gmail.com	Email: thomacg@unisa.ac.za	E-mail: ngobeb@unisa.ac.za

This document acknowledges you understand of your rights as a participant in this study, which is set out above and which the researcher has explained to you prior to signing this document.

I acknowledge that the researcher has explained my rights, the requirements of this study, and the potential risks involved in participating in this study. I understand there is no compensation for, or direct benefit of participating in this study. By signing below and providing my contact information I am indicating that I consent to participate in this study, that I am at least 18 years of age, and I am eligible to participate in this study.

You may withdraw from this study at any time by notifying me. If you have any concerns regarding your participation in this study you may contact my supervisor,
Prof Jimi Adesina (adesij@unisa.ac.za).

You may ask for a copy of this document for your own records.

Signed Name: _____

Printed Name: _____

Date: _____

Phone Number and/or Email Address: _____

Thank you for your participation

Michelle Peens
DPhil in Sociology
University of South Africa (UNISA)
Under supervision of Prof Jimi Adesina (SARChi Chair in Social Policy)
UNISA, Pretoria

Email Address: michelle.peens@gmail.com
Contact number: +27 83 6333 443

Interview guide

Interview Information	
Respondent ID	
Date	
Time	
Place	
Notes	

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today.
My name is Michelle and I want to talk to you so that I can find out about your day to day experiences living and surviving in one of the biggest cities in South Africa.

The interview should last for about an hour. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. The recording is here to help me afterwards to remember everything and for during the interview so that I can listen to you more closely without having to constantly take notes.

At this point I would like to share with you a consent form that protects both you and me during this research process. Here let me walk you through it.

(At this point read aloud and explain points on the consent form)

I want to also point out specifically the contact information made available on the form and which is also yours to take. Please, do not hesitate to contact me or any one at the University if you have any concerns.

It is also important for my research that we will talk about money and finances today as this is an important part of surviving in a big city. I know that this is very personal and often difficult to talk about. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may refuse to answer a specific question or even end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?
Are you willing to participate in this interview?

It is important for me to hear your story and that you share with me your experiences. Remember there are no right or wrong answers, just your story and you know this best!

OK-Let's get started...
I have told you a lot about myself and my research.

General prompts that can be used throughout interview in addition to other probing questions outlined
• Would you give me an example? • Can you elaborate on that idea? • Would you explain that further? • I'm not sure I understand what you're saying. • Is there anything else?

Introduction
Please tell me about yourself?

- Where were you born?
- Where did you grow up? Go to school?

Employment
Please tell me about a typical day for you from that you get up until you go to bed?

- Probe about timelines
- Probe about transportation
- Probe about descriptions of the house and living arrangements
- Probe about how household duties are distributed
- What do you like most about your day?
- What do you like the least of your day?

Dwelling
Tell me about your house?

- How long have you lived where you are now?
- Does it fulfil all the needs that you and your family have at the moment?
- What is the one thing that you would change?

Family
Tell me about your family?

- Are you married?
- How long have you been married?
- If single, are you dating?
- Do you have any children?
- How old are they?
- What are their favourite subjects at school?
- What were your favourite subjects at school?

Money
Tell me about your finances?

- How easy or difficult is it for you to come out at the end of the month?
- What do you think you should spend more money on?
- What, if you could only pick one thing, would make the biggest change on your money situation?
- What do you think could change your current situation in terms of money?

- What is the worst decision you have made regarding money?
- What is the best decision you have made regarding money?
- Do you belong to a burial society? Or do you have a funeral plan?
- Are you part of a "stokvel"?
- Do you have medical aid? What type? If not, how do you pay for your medical needs? (Probe about quality of health care and institutions)
- Do you have any store accounts (microcredit)? What for and when do you use these accounts for? Have you ever had to miss a payment to such an institution? What happened?
- People often wish that they could just win lotto. How much would you want to win (a minimum amount)? How would you spend it?

Precarity

- What do you think it is like for someone living in South Africa that struggles to make ends meet every month?
- What do you think is their biggest concern or worry? (e.g. health issues, unemployment etc)
- What advice would you give someone that struggles every month to make ends meet?
- What do you think is the main reason that someone becomes poor?
- What do you think is the main reason that someone gets out of poverty?

City

Tell me about the city that you live in?

- When and why did you move to Newcastle/Cape Town?
- Do you like living here or not?
- What advice would you give someone moving into the city?
- Where else would you like to live? (If you could live anywhere in the world?)

And with that, we have come to the end of the interview. Is there anything else that you would like to add or you want us to discuss?

I'll be using the information you shared with me during the interview and that of other interviews to write my thesis. I will be submitting it at the end of 2017 and can, once it has been accepted by UNISA, share with you a copy if you are interested.

Thank you very much for your time and for sharing with me your story.

Translated versions of Ethics Form and Question Guide

Afrikaans Version

Etiese Toestemming Vorm

'n Beskrywing van kwesbare nie-armes woonagtig in Kaapstad en Newcastle

Ek, Michelle Peens (michelle.peens@gmail.com), nooi u graag uit om deel te wees van 'n navorsingsprojek wat sal kennis bydrae tot die veld van van sosiologie en die meet van armoede in Suid-Afika en wat sal fokus op die lewens van mense wat finansieël sukkel, maar steeds lewe bo die geklassifiseerde nasionale armoede lyn in terme van hulle inkomste.

My naam is Michelle Peens en die informasie wat gedurende die onderhoud gedeel word sal gebruik word om aan die vereistes van 'n DPhil in Sosiologie aan die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika (UNISA) te voldoen. My promotor is Prof Jimi Adesina (adesij@unisa.ac.za) en u kan hom of Prof Rabé (rabeme@unisa.ac.za) kontak by die Sosiologie Departement om die informasie wat ek deel te verifieer (Sien ook volledige kontak besonderhede onder aan).

Deelname:

Die informele onderhoud kan duur van 'n half uur tot 'n uur. Daar is ook geen beplande misleiding betrokke in die projek nie.

Privaatheid:

Jou deelname in die studie and jou antwoorde sal konfidentieel gehou word. Enige verwysing na jou sal deur die gebruik van 'n skuilnaam geskiet wat enige direkte aanhalings insluit. Hierdie dokument sowel as enige notas of digitale opnames wat moonltik jou persoonlik kan identifiseer sal in veilige bearing gehou word and slegs die navorser sal toegang hê daartoe. Drie jaar na die afloop van die navorsings projek sal alle persoonlike informasie wat kan lei tot moontlike identifisering verwoes word. Alhoewel die bevindinge van die studie gepubliseer kan word, sal geen informasie wat u moontlik kan identifiseer ingelsuit word nie.

Risiko:

Die navorser voorspel baie min risiko wat personekan oorkom en wat kies om deel te neem aan die studie. Daar is geen voorspelbare fisiese risiko wat geassosieer kan word met die studie nie, maar ander tipe risiko kan die volgende insluit: U mag dalk anstigheid, ongemak of negatiewe emosies ervaar as gevolg van die tipe vrae wat gevra gaan word. As u so begin voel kan u kies **om liewer na die volgende vraag te beweeg, te onttrek van die studie**, of u kan my promotor kontak sowel as the UNISA Etiese Raad, veral as u ongemak van lange duur is na die studie.

Voordele:

Geen voordele word voorsien as gevolg van die studie en u deelname daaraan nie behalwe vir die feit dat u bydra tot die verbetering van die kennis veld geassosieer met die navorsingsprojek tema asook die feit dat u die navirser help of haar DPhil te voltooi. Daar is ook geen vergoeding wat geassosieer word met deelname in die studie nie.

Michelle Peens
Tel: 083 6333 443
Email:
michelle.peens@gmail.com

UNISA Sociology Department
Tel: 012 429 6301
Email: thomacg@unisa.ac.za

SARChI Chair in Social Policy
Tel: 012 337 6114
E-mail: ngobeb@unisa.ac.za

Hierdie dokument dien dan ook as ‘n verklaring dat u u regte as deelnemer in die studie verstaan soos uiteengesit hierbo and wat die navorser aan jou verduidelik het voor u die dokument geteken het.

Ek verklaar dat die navorser aan my my regte verduidelik het, die vereistes van die studie asook enige potensiële risiko wat kan lei as gevolg van my deelname aan die studie. Ek verstaan dat daar is geen vergoeding vir deelname asook geen direkte voordele geassosieer met deelname nie. Deur hieronder te teken en my kontak besonderhede in te vul, gee ek toestemming vir my deelname in die studie, verifieer ek dat ek is tenminste 18 jaar of ouer, asook dat ek bevoeg is om deel te neem aan die studie.

U kan enige tyd van die studie onttrek deur om my in kennis te stel. As u enige vrae het in terme van u deelname in die studie kan u ook my promotor, Prof Jimi Adesina (adesij@unisa.ac.za) kontak.

Vra asseblief indien u ‘n afskrif van die dokument wil hê vir u eie rekords.

Handtekening: _____

Volle naam: _____

Datum: _____

Telefoon nommer en/of Epos adres: _____

Dankie vir u deelname

Michelle Peens
DPhil in Sociology
University of South Africa (UNISA)
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Onderhoud Gids

Interview Information (For use of Researcher)	
Respondent ID	
Date	
Time	
Place	
Notes	

Ek will eerstens net van die geleentheid gebruik om baie dankie te sê dat u tyd gemaak het om vandag met my te ontmoet.
My naam is Michelle en ek wil met u gesels sodat ek meer kan uit vind oor die dag tot dag ervaring van lewe en oorlewing in een van die grootste stede in Suid-Afrika.

Die onderhoud gaan omtrent so ‘n uur duur. Ek gaan dit digitaal opneem, want ek wil niks mis van wat u met my gaan deel nie. Die opnames help my ook na die tyd dat ek al die details kan onthou sonder dat ek gedurende die onderhoud konstant notas hoef te neem.

Voor ons verder gaan, wil ek graag eers met u die vrywarings vorm en die se inhoud deel. Dit beskerm vir ons albei gedurende die navorsings proses. Kom laat ek dit saam met u deur lees.

(Lees op die punt die vrywarings vorm hard op)

Ek wil graag ook vir u spesifike die kontak besonderhede uitwys wat beskikbaar is op die vorm and wat beskikbaar is vir u om huis toe te vat. Moet asseblief nie huiwer om my of die Universitieit te kontak indien u enige bekommernis het nie.

Dit is baie belangrik vir my studie dat ons vandag oor geld en u finansies praat veral omdat dit so belangrike deel is van wat dit moontlik maak om in ‘n groot stad te oorleef. Ek weet dat dit is persoonlik en soms moeilik om oor te praat, Onthou dat u oor niks hoef te gesels waarmee u nie gemaklik is nie en mag enige tyd kies om nie ‘n vraag te antwoord nie of selfs die onderhoud op enige ooblik stop.

Het u enige vrae oor wat ek nou vir u verduidelik het?
Is u gewillig om deel te neem in die studie deur die onderhoud te doen?

Dit is vir my baie belangrik o u storie te hoor en u eie ervaringe. Onthou dat daar is dus nie regte of verkeerde antwoorde nie, net u storie wat u natuurlik die beste ken!

Goed-Kom ons begin...

Ek het nou al baie gepraat oor myself en my navorsing. Nou wil ek graag meer oor u uitvind.

Algemene vrae wat enige tyd gedurende onderhoud kan gebruik word om meer informasie uit te lok
• Kan u my 'n voorbeeld gee? • Kan u verder uitbrei op daardie idée? • Verduidelik dit asseblief bietjie meer? • Ek is nie seker ek verstaan wat u bedoel nie • Is daar nog iets?

<u>Inleiding</u>
Vertel my asseblief 'n bietjie oor jouself

- Waar is u gebore?
- Waar het u groot geword? En skool gegaan?

<u>Werksgeskiedenis</u>
Beskryf vir my asseblief 'n tipiese dag van dat u opstaan totdat u in die aand gaan slaap?

- Vra oor tydslyne
- Vra oor vervoer
- Vra oor huis en hoe huis georganiseer is
- Wat is die lekkerste deel van u dag?
- Wat is die minste lekker van u dag?

<u>Skuiling</u>
Vertel my meer van u huis?

- Hoe lank bly u nou al waar u nou woon?
- Voldoen dit aan u en u se gesin se behoeftes op die oomblik?
- Wat is die een ding wat u sou verander as u kon?

<u>Familie</u>
Vertel my van u familie?

- Is u getroud?
- Hoe lank is u al getroud?
- Het u enige kinders?
- Hoe oud is hulle?
- Wat is hulle gunsteling vak op skool?
- Wat was u gunsteling vak op skool?

<u>Geld</u>
Vertel my meer oor u finansies?

- Hoe maklik of moeilik is dit vir julle om uit te kom aan die einde van die maand?

- Op wat dink u moet julle eintlik meer geld spandeer?
- Wat, as u een ding kon kies, sou die grootste verskil maak in julle finansiele posisie?
- Wat is die domste besluit wat u al gemaak het in terme van geld?
- Wat is die slimste besluit wat u al gemaak het in terme van geld?
- Is u deel van ‘n begrafnis onderneming? Of het u begrafnis polis?
- Is u deel van ‘n “stokvel”?
- Het u ‘n mediese fonds? Watse tipe? Indien nie, hoe betaal u vir u mediese behoeftes? (Vra meer oor die kwalitieit van mediese sorg in algemeen)
- Het u enige winkel rekeninge (mini-krediet)? Waarvoor en wanneer gebruik u die rekeninge? Het u al ooit ‘n maandelikse betaling gemis? Wat het gebeur?
- Mense wens hulle kan die lotto wen. Hoeveel sal u wil wen (minimum bedrag)? En hoe sal u dit spandeer?

<u>Kwesbaarheid</u>

- Hoe dink u is dit vir iemand wat in Suid-Afrika woon wat sukkel om uit te kom elke maand?
- Wat dink u is hulle grootse bekommernis? (bv. gesondheid, werkloosheid ens)
- Watse advies sou u vir iemand gee wat elke maand sukkel om met hulle geld uit te kom?
- Wat dink u is die hoof rede wat maak dat iemand in armoede verval?
- Wat dink u is die hoof rede wat maak dat iemand uit armoede kan kom?

<u>Stad</u>

Vertel my bietjie van die stad waarin u woon?

- Wanneer het u Kaapstad toe getrek?
- Hou u daarvan om hier te woon?
- Wat se advies sou u vir iemand gee wat die eerste keer na ‘n groot stad toe trek?
- Waar anders sou u graag wou bly? (As jy enige plek in die wêreld kon bly?)

En so kom die onderhoud tot ‘n einde. Is daar enige iets anders wat u nog vir my wil vertel of byvoeg?

Ek gaan die informasie wat u met my vandag gedeel het gedurende die onderhoud saam met ander onderhoude gebruik om my tesis te skryf. Ek sal die tesis ingee aan die einde van 2017 en kan dan sodra dit dan deur UNISA aanvaar word ‘n kopie stuur as u sou belangstel.

Baie dankie vir u tyd en dat u u storie met my gedeel het

Xhosa Version

Uxwebhu lwemigaqo

Ingcaciso ngeemeko ezimaxongo abaphila kuzo bengahlupheki kodwa bengezozinhanha eKapa naseNewcastle.

Mna, Michelle Peens (michelle.peens@gmail.com), ndingathanda ukukumema ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba kwezi zifundo zihlola abantu abanengxaki yezimali, kodwa babe bengekho kuluhlu lwabo bachazwa njengabahluphekayo ngenxa yengeniso abayenzayo. Oku kuzakongeza kulwazi lwezentlalo nendlela esetyenziswayo ukujonga intlupheko eMzantsi Afrika.

Igama lam ndingu Michelle Peens kwaye ulwazi esilufumene kolu dliwano ndlebe luzakunceda ukufezekisa iimfuno zesidanga i-DPhil kwizifundo ezingentlalo, i-Sociology kwiDyunivesithi yoMzantsi Afrika neyaziwa njenge UNISA. Ndiphantsi kweso lenjingalwazi uJimi Adesina (adesinaj@unisa.ac.za) ungaqhakamshelana naye okanye unjingalwazi Rabe (rabem@unisa.ac.za) kwicandelo lwezifundo ngentlalo, ukuqinisekisa ubunyani bukuqulathwe apha (inkcukacha ezithe vetshe zilapha emazantsi).

Ukuthabatha inxaxheba:

Ukuthabatha inxaxheba kudliwano ndlebe olukhululekileyo nolunokuthabatha imizuzu ekumashumi amathathu ukuya kwiyure. Akukho nkqatho icetywe ukusetyenziswa kwezi zifundo.

Imfihlo:

Ukuthabatha kwakho inxaxheba kwesi sifundo neempendulo zakho ziyakugcinwa ziyimfihlo. Kokujoliswe kuwe siyakusebenzisa igama engasilolakho, kuquka naxa sicaphule kwimpendulo zakho. Olu xwebhu nazo naziphi na ezinye impepha nokushicilelweyo okuqulathe igama lakho kuyakugcinwa endaweni eyimfihlo, nalapho indim (umphandi) kuphela oyakufikelela kuzo.

Ubungozi:

Umphandi ubona bubuncinci ubungozi ngakwabo bakhetha ukuthabatha inxaxheba kwesi sifundo. Akho bungozi bubonakalayo obayanyaniswa nesi sifondo, bobo bungabambekiyo kuphela nobufana nokuziva unoxinezelelo, ukungakhululeki, neentloni zokuphendula imibuzo ekwesi sifundo. Ukuba uziva ungakhululekanga ukuphendula umbuzo othile, ungawutsiba ungawuphenduli, uvumelekile nokurhoxa kulenkqubo okanye ukunxibelelana nonjingalwazi wam okanye ibhunga elijongene nendlela yokuziphatha, ingakumbi ukuba uziva uqhuba nokungakhululeki emva kokuphendula lemibuzo.

Inzuzo:

Akukho nzuzo oya kuyifumana wena engqale kuwe ngokuthabatha inxaxheba kwesi sifundo, lulwazi lwakho nje oluya kunceda ukwandisa umthombo wolwazi ngokubhekiselele kulomba siphanda ngawo, kwanokunceda umfundi ukugqiba izifundo zakhe ze DPhil. Akuyi kubakho mbuyekezo ke ngokuthabatha inxaxheba.

Michelle Peens	**UNISA Sociology Department**	**SARChI Chair in Social Policy**
Tel: 083 6333 443	**Tel:** 012 429 6301	**Tel:** 012 337 6114
Email: michelle.peens@gmail.com	**Email:** thomacg@unisa.ac.za	**E-mail:** ngobeb@unisa.ac.za

Olu xwebhu lwenzekwe ukuqinisekisa ukuba uyawaqonda amalungelo akho njengamntu uthatha inxaxheba kwesi sifundo, nanjengoko kubhaliwe ngasentla apha nokucaciswe ngumfundi kuwe phambi kokulutyikitya.

Ndiyangqina ukuba umfundi undicacisele ngamalungelo am, okulindelekileyo ukuze ube uthabatha inxaxheba, kwaye ndichazelwe ngokunoba bubungozi. Ndiyayiqonda into yokuba akuyi kubakho ntlawulo okanye nantoni na endiya kuyifumana ngokuthabatha inxaxheba. Ngokutyikitya apha ngezantsi ndinikisa ngeenkcukacha zam, oko kubonisa ukuba ndiyavuma ukuthabatha inxaxheba koluphando, kwanokuba iminyaka yam ingaphaya kwe -18 nokuthetha ukuthi ndivumelekile ukuthabatha inxaxheba koluphando.

Uvumelekile ukurhoxa ungaqhubeki nokuthabatha inxaxheba nje ngokundazisa. Ukuba kukho nto ezithile ezikwenza inkxalabo ngokubayinxalenye yoluphando ungathi uqhakamshelane nonjingalwazi Jimi Adesina (adesinaj@unisa.ac.za).

Ungacela ikopi yoluxhwebhu ukuba ufuna ukuzigcinela.

Isiginitsha yakho: _____

Igama ngokuzeleyo: _____

Umhla: _____

Inombolo yomnxeba kunye/okanye i-imeyile: _____

Michelle Peens
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Inombolo yomnxeba: +27 83 6333 443

Isikhokelo semibuzo

Interview Information (For use of Researcher)	
Respondent ID	
Date	
Time	
Place	
Notes	

Mandithathe elithuba kwakho ndibulele ngokudibana nam namhlanje.

Igama lam ndingu Michelle, ndecela ukuthetha nawe ukuze ndive indlela oluchithanngayo usuku lwakho nendlela yokuphila kwesinye sezixeko ezixakekileyo eMzantsi Afrika.

Udliwano ndlebe aluzukubangaphaya kweyure. Ndizakuyishicilela intetho yethu kuba andifuni kuphosa nto kwizinto ozithethayo. Okushicilelweyo kuzakundinceda ukukhumbula esithethe ngako kudliwano ndlebe, kwa naxa sithetha ndingabe ndixakekile koko ndiphulaphule kakuhle.

Ndifuna sabelane ngoluxwebhu lwesivumelwano nolusikhusela sobabini ngeli lixa loluphando. Nalo ke masiqwalasele okuqulathwe kulo.

(Kwesi sithuba funda ngokuvakalayo ucacise amanqaku akuxwebhu lwesivumelwano)

Mandigxininisise kwakho ngeenkcukacha zoqhakamshelwano eziqulathwe apha. Nceda uqhakamsehane nathi okanye nabani na kule Dyunivesithi ukuba kukho nto zithile ezikuxhalabisayo.

Kukwabalulekile ke kolu phando lwam ukuba sithethe ngemali namhlanje nanjengoko iyinto ebalulekileyo kwimpilo yezixeko ezikhulu. Ndiyayazi ke ukuba ngumba oyimfintlo into yezimali kwaye kunzima ukuthetha ngayo. Ndingatsho ke ukuba akunyanzelekanga ukuthetha ngento ongakhululekanga ukuthetha ngayo, ungala ukuphendula umbuzo ongqalileyo okanye ucele ukungaqhubeki nodliwano ndlebe nangaliphi na ixesha.

Ingaba ikho imibuzo malunga noku sele ndikucacisile?

Ingaba usenawo umdla wokuqhubeka noludliwano ndlebe?

Kubalulekile kum ukuva ibali lakho nokuba sabelane ngamava akho.
Khumbula ke ukuba akukho mpendulo ilungileyo nengalunganga.

Kulungile, masiqalise ke.
Ndikuxelele okuninzi ngam nolu phando lwam.

Ezinye zeendlela ezinokusetyenziswa kudliwano ndlebe ukongeza kuluhlu lwemibuzo esele ibekiwe
• Ungandinika umzekelo? • Unganceda unabe kuloo ngcingane? • Ndicela ucacise ngokuthe vetshe kwelonqaku? • Andiqondi ukuba ndiyakulandela kulento uyithethayo. • Ingaba ikhona enye into?

Intshayelelo
Ndicela undixelele ngawe?
• Wazalelwa phi?
• Ukhulele phi? Sesiphi isikolo oye kuso?

Inggesho
Ndicela undixelele ngosuku lwakho ukusuka ngexa uvuka de ubuyele ebhedini?
• Buza mayelana namaxesha
• Buza ngomba wezothutho
• Funa ingcaciso ngendlu nendlela yentlaliswano
• Buza mayelana nokwabiwa komsebenzi endlini
• Yeyiphi eyona nto uyithandayo ngosuku lwakho?
• Yeyiphi eyona nto uyicaphukelayo ngosuku lwakho?

Intlalo
Ndicela undixelele ngendlu yakho.
• Sekulixesha elingakanani uhlala kulendawo uhlala kuyo ngoku?
• Ingaba iyazanelisa iimfuno zakho nosapho lwakho okwangoku?
• Yeyiphi into ocinga ukuba ungayitshintsha?

Usapho
Ndicela undixelele ngosapho lwakho.
• Ingaba utshatile?
• Unexesha elingakanani utshatile?
• Ukuba awutshananga ingaba ukho umntu oncuma naye?
• Ingaba unabo abantwana?
• Bangakanani?
• Zeziphi ezona zifundo bazithandayo esikolweni?

• Yayizeziphi izifundo owawuzithanda wena esikolweni?

Izimali

Ndicela undixelele ngezimali zakho.

• Ingaba kulula okanye kunzima kanjani ukuba uzikhuphe empela nyanga?
• Ucinga ukuba yintoni omawuchithe eyona mali kuyo?
• Ukuba ikhona nje into enye, yintoni enokuthi yenze olona tshintsho kwizimali zakho?
• Yintoni ocinga ukuba ingatshintsha imeko okuyo ngoku ngokubhekiselele kwizimali?
• Zeziphi ezona zigqibo uzisola ngazo owakhe wazenza ezimayelana nemali?
• Sesiphi esona sigqibo uzingca ngaso owakha wasenza mayelana nemali?
• Uninzi lunomnqweno wokuphumelela i-lotto. Yimalini ubuncinci enokwanelisa? Ungayisebenzisa njani?

Indlala

• Ucinga ukuba kunjani ukuhlupheka ube uhlala eMzantsi Afrika?
• Bangaphi kwizalamane nabahlobo bakho onobachaza njengabahluphekayo?
• Ungaziva njani ukuba wena nosapho lwakho ningagaxeleka endlaleni? (Nihlupheke)
• Nenza ntoni nosapho lwakho ukuqinisekisa ukuba aningeni endlaleni?
• Ucinga ukuba yintoni efaka umntu endlaleni?
• Ucinga ukuba yintoni esona sizathu esikhupha umntu endlaleni?

Isixeko

Ndicela undixelele mayelana nesixeko ohlala kuso.

• Ufike nini kwaye yintoni ebangele ukuba uze eKapa?
• Ingaba uyakuthanda ukuhlala apha okanye hayi?
• Leliphi icebiso onokulinika umntu ofikayo kwesi sixeko?
• Yeyiphi enye indawo ongathanda ukuhlala kuyo? (Ukuba ungahlala naphi na ehlabathini?)

Sifikelele esiphelweni sodliwano ndlebe ke ngoko. Ingaba ikho nokuba yintoni ofuna ukuyangeza?

Ndizakusebenzisa ulwazi endilufumene kuwe nakwabanye abantu ukubhala i-thesis yam. Yona ke kufuneka ndiyifake ukuphela konyaka u2017, ukwamkeleka kwayo eUNISA, ndingakuthumelela nge imeyile ukuba unomnqweno.

Zulu Version

i-fomu lemigomo yokuziphatha

Kuchazwa ngezimpilo zabantu abangahlupheki kodwa abasengozini yokuthi bangangena ohlwini lwabantu abahluphekayo eNewcatle naseKapa.

Mina Michelle Peens (michelle.peens@gmail.com), ngithanda ukukumema ukuthi ube ingxenye yocwaningo olubheka udaba lwabantu abadonsa kanzima ngokwezezimali, kodwa abathathwa njengantu abangaphili impilo ephilwa abantu abathathwa njengabahluphekayo ngenxa yemali abayiholayo. Lolucwaningo luzosiza ukwandisa ulwazi kwisifundo esiphathelene nenhlalo yabantu, phecelezi i-Sociology, kanye nokuthola izinga lobubha kuleli. Igama lami ngingu Michelle Peens imininingwane ezoqoqwa kulenkulumongxoxo izosiza ukuhlangabezana nemibandela yokuthola iziqu zobudokotela kwisifundo esiphathelene nenhlalo yabantu, phecelezi i-Sociology, enyuvesi yaseNingizimu Africa eyaziwa ngele-UNISA. Lolucwaningi ngilwenza ngaphansi kweso likaSolwazi uJimi Adesina (adesij@unisa.ac.za) ungakwazi ukuxhumana naye noma uSolwazi uRabe (rabeme@unisa.ac.za) eMnyangweni wesifundo esiphathelene nenhlalo yabantu, phecelezi i-Sociology, ukuqinisekisa lemininingwane (bheka eminye imininingwane yokuxhumana nabo ngezansi).

Ukubamba iqhaza:

Ngiyavuma ukuba ingxenye yenkulumongxoxo engathatha ingxenye yehora kuya ehoreni elilodwa. Abukho ubuqili kumbe umkhonyovu kulolucwaningo.

Ukuvikelwa kwempilo yakho yangasese:

Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo kanye nezimpendulo zakho kuzogcinwa kuyimfihlo. Kuyosetshenziswa igama okungelona elakho uma kukhulunywa ngawe kubalwa nokucashunwa okushiwo nguwe. Lelipheshana nayoyonke imibhalo kanye nokuqoshiwe okungase kukudalule njengomuntu oyingxenye yalolucwaningo kuyigcinwa endaweni evikelekile okungumcwaningi kuphela oyokwazi ukufinyelela kuyona. Kuyoba ngumcwaningi kanye nolawula umcwaningi abayokwazi ukuthi ngoba ababambe iqhaza ecwaningeni. Ngemuva kweminyaka emithathu sekuphothulwe ucwaningo konke okudalula imininingwane yomuntu obambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo kuyocekelwa phansi. Nakuba okutholwe ucwaningo kungenzeka kushicilelwe ayikho imininingwane ezokudalula ezofakwa.

Ubungozi:

Umcwaningi akayiboni ingozi enkulu kulabo abakhetha ukuba ingxenye yocwaningo. Ayikho ingozi engenzeka kuwena siqu sakho ehambisana nalolucwaningo, ezinye izinto ezingenzeka zibandakanya lokhu okulandelayo: Ungazizwa uba nokukhathala, uzizwe ungakhululekile noma uzizwe uphatheka kabi ngenxa yokuphendula imibuzo ebuzwa ocwaningweni. Uma ngabe kukhona okubona kungazwani nawe embuzweni ungawugwema lowo mbuzo noma uhoxe ekubambeni iqhaza ocwaningweni noma uxhumane nongiphethe noma ikomiti elibhekele ukuziphatha lenyuvesi, ikakhulukazi uma ngabe ukungaziziwa kahle kuqhubeka nangemuva kocwaningo.

Okungazuzwa:

Ayikho imihlomulo okubhekele ukuthi uyithole maqondana nokubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo ngaphezu kokusiza ukuthi kutholakale ulwazi oluphathelene nalesisihloko socwaningo kanye nokusiza umcwaningi ukuthi aphothule iziqu zakhe zobudokotela. Akukho sinxephezelo ezotholakala ngokubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

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Imibhalo ekulamaphepha icacisa ukuthi uyaqonda ngamalungelo akho njengomuntu obambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo umcwaningo akuchazele ngalo ngaphambi kokuthi usayine lamaphepha.

Ngiyavuma ukuthi umcwaningi ungichazele ngamalungelo ami, okudingwa ucwaningo, kanye nokungase kudale inkinga ekubambeni iqhaza kulolucwaningo. Ngiyaqonda akukho sinxephezelo noma imihlomulo etholwa ngokubamba iqhaza kulolucwnaingo. Ngokusayinda lapha phansi kanye nokunikezela ngemininingwane yami ngichaza ukuthi ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo kanye nokuthi ngineminyaka engaphezulu kwengu 18 kanye nokuthi ngifanelwe ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

Ungahoxa noma nini ekubeni ingxenye yalolucwaningo ngokungazisa. Uma ngabe kukhona ongagculisekile ngakho ngokubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo ungaxhumana nongiphethe, uSolwazi uJimi Adesina (adesij@unisa.ac.za)

Ungacela ukunikezwa ikhophi yalencwadi ukuze ube neminingwane eyiqukethe.

Sayina: _____

Bhala igama: _____

Usuku: _____

Inombolo yocingo /i-email noma ikheli: _____

Michelle Peens
DPhil in Sociology
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Okuphathelene nokulawulwa kwemibuzo

Interview Information (For use of Researcher)	
Respondent ID	
Date	
Time	
Place	
Notes	

Ngithanda ukukubonga ngokuvuma ukuthi uhlangane nami namuhlanje. Igama lami ngingu-Michelle ngithanda ukukhuluma nawe ukuze ngikwazi ukuthola kabanzi ngomlando wempilo yakho yemihla ngemihla uhlala kwelinye lamadolobha amakhulu kuleli laseNingizimu Africa.

Ingxoxo yethu ingase ithathe isikhathi esithi asibe ihora. Ngizobe ngiyiqopha ingxoxo yethu ngoba angifuni ukuthi kube khona engikushiya ngaphandle enkulumweni yakho. Isiqophamazwi ngisiphathele ukuthi singisize ukuthi ngikwazi ukukhumbula yonke into oyishilo ngesikhathi kuqhubeka ingxoxo yethu kanye nokuthi ngigalokhu ngiphazamiseka ngibhala phansi ngesikhathi siqhubeka nengxoxo yethu.

Okwamanje ngizothanda ukuthi ngikunikeze ifomu elivikela mina kanye nawe uma kuqhubeka lolucwaningo. Ithi ngokuchazele kabanzi.

(Kuleliphuzu funda kuzwakale uchaze okuqukethwe ifomu lokuvuma ukuba ingxenye yocwaningo)

Ngifuna ukukubonisa ikakhulukazi imininingwane yokuxhumana nathi ekwifomu nokumele futhi nawe ube nayo. Ungangabazi ukungithinta noma uthinte noma ngubani osenyuvesi uma ngabe kukhona lapho ungagculisekile khona.

Kubalulekile ocwaningeni lwami ukuthi namuhlanje sikhulume ngemali kanye neziphathelene nezezimali ngoba lokhu kuyingxenye yento ebaluleke kakhulu ukuze ukwazi ukuphila edolobheni elikhulu. Ngiyazi ukuthi lokho kuyinto yangasese nokunzima ukuthi ukhulume ngayo. Khumbula, awuphoqelekie ukuthi ukhulume ngayo yonke into ongathandi ukukhuluma ngayo kanti futhi unalo ilungelo lokwenqaba ukuphendula imibuzo ethile noma uhoxe noma nini kulengxoxo yethu uma uthanda.

Ingabe ikhona imibuzo kulokhu esingikushile?

Ingabe uzimisele ukubamba iqhaza kulengxoxo yethu?

Kubalulekile kimina ukuthi ngizwe udaba lwakho kanye nokuthi ungitshele ngosukubonile kwenzeka kuwena. Khumbula ayikho impendulo eshaya emhlolweni kanye neshaya eceleni, ngoba ukhuluma ngodaba lwempilo yakho futhi okuyinto oyazi kangcono.

Ok- ake siqale…
Sengikutshele okuningi ngami kanye nangocwaningo.

Okunye okungasetshenziswa kulenkulumongxoxo ukuthola izimpendulo ngaphezu kwemibuzo ekhona.
• Unganginikeza isibonelo? • Ungachaza ngalomqondo? • Ungachaza kabanzi ngalokho? • Angazi noma ngikuzwa kahle yini okushoyo • Ingabe kukhona okunye?

<u>Isethulo</u>
- Ngicela ungitshele ngawe?
- Wazalelwa kuphi?
- Ukhulele kuphi? Wafunda kusiphi isikole?

<u>Ezomsebenzi</u>
Ngicela ungitshele ngokwenzayo ngosuku kusukela uvuka ekuseni uze uyolala?
- Imibuzo ngezikhathi
- Imibuzo ngeziphathelene nezokuthutha
- Imibuzo ngesimo sendlu nendlela yokuphila
- Imibuzo mayelana nokuhlukaniselana imisebenzi yasendlni
- Ikuphi okuthanda kakhulu kokwenza ngosuku?
- Ikuphi ongakuthandisisi kokwenza ngosuku?

<u>Eziphathelene nenhlalo</u>
Ngitshele ngendlu yakho?
- Sewunesikhathi esingakanani uhlala lapho uhlala khona?
- Ingabe ukuhlala lapho uhlala khona kuyazifeza zonke izidingo zakho kanye nomndeni wakho njengamanje?
- Yiyiphi into eyodwa ongathanda ukuyiguqula?

<u>Ezomndeni</u>
Ngitshele ngomndeni wakho?
- Ingabe ushadile?
- Sewunesikhathi esingakanani ushadile?
- Uma ngabe awukashadi ingabe kukhona othandana naye?
- Ingabe unazo izingane?
- Zingakanani?

- Ingabe isiphi isifundo ezisithandayo esikoleni?
- Ingabe isiphi isifundo obusithanda esikoleni?

Ezezimali

Ngitshele ngeziphathelene nezimali zakho?

- Ingabe kunzima noma kulula ukukhokhola izndleko zakho ngemali yakho ngenyanga.
- Ucabanga ukuthi imali iningi kumele uyisebenzisele ukwenzani?
- Ikuphi, uma ungakhetha okukodwa, okungenza uguquko olukhulu esimweni sakho sezimali?
- Ikuphi okungaguqula isimo sakho ngokwezezimali?
- Isiphi isinqumo esibi kakhulu osuke wasithatha maqondana nezezimali?
- Ingabe bangabanye emphakathini ukungcwatshwa ? Noma, ingabe unaso uhlelo emngcwabeni?
- Ingabe ingxenye ' amalunga e-stokvel?
- Ingabe medical aid ? Hlobo luni ? Uma kungenjalo , kanjani ukhokhela izidingo zakho medical ? (Ihlole mayelana izinga lokunakekelwa kwezempilo kanye nezikhungo)
- Ingabe unazo akhawunti esitolo (microcredit)? Yini for futhi uma ukusebenzisa lezi akhawunti? Wake waba miss a inkokhelo enjalo esikhungweni? Kwenzenjani?
- Ikuphi ocabanga ukuthi yikhona okungasiza kakhulu ukuthi umuntu aphume esimweni sokuba hlwempu?
- Abantu bahlale befisa sengathi bangawina ilotto. Imalini ongathanda ukuthi uyiwine? Ungayisebenzisa kanjani?

Abasengozini

- Ucabanga kunjani ukuba othile abahlala eNingizimu Afrika ukuthi ulwa kanzima ukuze ziphile njalo ngenyanga?
- Yini ocabanga ukuthi ukukhathazeka kwabo enkulu noma sikhathazeke? (isb nezindaba zezempilo, lokungasebenzi njll)
- Yini iseluleko ongasinikeza umuntu ukuthi ulwa kanzima njalo ngenyanga ukuze siziphilise
- Ucabanga isizathu esiyinhloko ukuthi umuntu eba mpofu?
- Ucabanga isizathu esiyinhloko ukuthi umuntu uthola enhluphekweni?

Edolobheni

Ngitshele ngedolobha ohlala kulona?

- Usuke nini futhi kungani ukhethe ukuya kumbe eKapa?
- Uyakuthanda ukuhlala lapha noma cha?
- Yisiphi iseluleko ongasinikeza umuntu oza edolobheni?
- Iyiphi enye indawo ongathanda ukuhlala kuyona? (Uma ungakhetha ukuhlala noma ikuphi emhlabeni?)

Sesifinyelele emaphethelweni engxoxo yethu. Ingabe kukhona okunye ongathanda ukukusho?

Ngizosebenzisa ongitshele khona ngesikhathi kuqhubeka inkulumongxoxo yethu kanye nezinye izinkulumongxoxo engizenzile ukubhala ucwaningo lwami. Umbiko wocwaningo lwami ngizowuthumela ngasekupheleni kuka 2017, kuyothi uma ngabe inyuvesi i-UNISA iwamukela , ngiyobe sengikuthumela ikhophi yawo uma ngabe ufisa ukuthi nawe ube nawo

Respondent interview details and summary

Respondent interview summary with place of interview, time as well as recorded employment and housing details							
Interview ID	Date	Place of Interview	Time of day	Occupation/ Employment	Highest Level of Education	Social grant	Housing
1	30-Jul-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Morning	Bakes and caters on ad hoc basis and lives with employed partner	Matric	CSG*	RDP house
2	31-Jul-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Morning	Domestic cleaner although not permanently employed	Grade 6	CSG	RDP house
3	6-Aug-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Morning	Unemployed and lives with employed partner	Grade 11	CSG	RDP house
4	6-Aug-16	Wesbank, Cape Town	Afternoon	Cares for two children from the neighbourhood and sublets a part of her house	Grade 5	CSG for her grandchildren	RDP house
5	7-Aug-16	Delft, Cape Town	Morning	Security Guard, but has not worked in months	Matric	CSG	RDP
6	12-Aug-16	Sea Point, Cape Town	Lunch break	Domestic helper employed every day of the week and works some weekends	Grade 8	CSG	RDP
7	24-Aug-16	Monte Vista, Cape Town	Afternoon	Domestic helper employed every day of the week	Grade 11	CSG	Informal housing
8	13-Sep-16	Pinelands, Cape Town	Morning	Gardener employed most days of the week and Saturdays	Grade 8	Does not qualify	Renting Wendy house
9	13-Oct-16	Huttenheights, Newcastle	Morning	Live-in domestic helper	Grade 10	CSG	Owns house
10	13-Oct-16	Huttenheights, Newcastle	Afternoon	Gardener and handy man employed every day of the week	Primary school (did not specify)	OPG**	Built own house

							outside of town
11	14-Oct-16	Huttenheights, Newcastle	Morning	Live-in domestic helper	Grade 2	CSG	Owns house outside of town
12	15-Oct-16	Pioneer Park, Newcastle	Early morning	Domestic cleaner employed every day of the week	Some primary schooling, but very little	CSG and OPG	Owns house
13	17-Oct-16	Aviary Hill, Newcastle	Afternoon	Domestic cleaner employed every day of the week	Grade 10	CGS (mother receives OPG)	Owns house
14	17-Oct-16	Aviary Hill, Newcastle	Late afternoon	Domestic cleaner employed every day of the week	Some primary school	Does not qualify	Owns house
15	16-Nov-16	Arbor Park, Newcastle	Morning	Cashier at restaurant	Matric and dropped out of college	Does not qualify	Lives with family in a house
16	16-Nov-16	Arbor Park, Newcastle	Late morning	Cook/chef at restaurant	Grade 11	CSG	Rents a room in a house
17	16-Nov-16	Arbor Park, Newcastle	Afternoon	Petrol station foreman	Matric	Does not qualify	Rents house
18	17-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Morning	Cashier at shop	Matric, trying to enrol to a university or college	Does not qualify	Lives with family in a house
19	17-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Afternoon	Handyman, employed full time	Matric	Does not qualify, but his partner receives CSG for their son	Lives with grandmother in a house
20	18-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Morning	Cleaner at office	Grade 11	CSG	Owns house

21	18-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Lunch break	Cashier at store	Grade 10	Does not qualify	Rents room
22	18-Nov-16	Madadeni, Newcastle	Afternoon	Cashier at store	Matric	Does not qualify	Rents house with partner
23	19-Nov-16	Riverside Industrial, Newcastle	Morning	Security Guard	Grade 10	CSG	Owns house
24	19-Nov-16	Riverside Industrial, Newcastle	Late morning	Gardener and handyman	Grade 10	CSG	Owns house
25	29-Nov-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Afternoon	Part time at printing shop	Grade 10	CSG	Rents subsidised bachelor flat
26	30-Nov-16	Manenberg, Cape Town	Afternoon	Unemployed, but supported by family	Did not specify	CSG for her granddaughter	Council flat
27	30-Nov-16	Manenberg, Cape Town	Late afternoon	Unemployed, but living with employed partner	Grade 11	Does not qualify	Council flat
28	30-Nov-16	Manenberg, Cape Town	Late afternoon	Retired	Matric	OPG	Council flat
29	12-Dec-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Afternoon	Butcher at a store	Matric	Does not qualify	Owns home
30	12-Dec-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Lunch break	Retail worker at store	Grade 9	CSG	Owns home
31	13-Dec-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Afternoon	Retail worker and cleaner at store	Failed grade 10	CSG	Lives with family in a house
32	29-Nov-16	Milnerton, Cape Town	Morning	Works and volunteers at/through church	Did not specify	Does not qualify	Rents a room
33	7-Jan-17	Delft, Cape Town	Morning	Unemployed, living with employed partner	Grade 10	CSG	Council housing
34	7-Jan-17	Delft, Cape Town	Morning	Has own business	Matric	CSG	Council housing

35	13-Jan-17	Pioneer Park, Newcastle	Lunch break	Domestic cleaner employed every day of the week	Grade 10	CSG	Owns house
36	13-Jan-17	Pioneer Park, Newcastle	Afternoon	Unemployed	Grade 11	CSG	Lives with family in house
37	14-Jan-17	Newcastle CBD, Newcastle	Morning	Domestic cleaner employed every day of the week	Primary school	CSG and OPG	Informal housing
38	14-Jan-17	Newcastle CBD, Newcastle	Morning	Gardener employed every day of the week	No schooling	OPG	Informal housing
39	26-Jan-17	Sea Point, Cape Town	Morning	Domestic cleaner employed every day of the week	Primary school	CSG	RDP house
40	27-Jan-17	Sea Point, Cape Town	Afternoon	Gardener and handyman	High school	Does not qualify	Informal housing

Table 36: Respondent interview summary with place of interview, time as well as recorded employment and housing details
***CSG refers to Child Support Grant and **OPG to the Old Person Grant**